INC.
WELLESLEY HILLS, MASS.

E
178
.A95
V.3

A History of the United States

Volume III

HORN LIBRARY-BABSON COLLEGE

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/historyofuniteds0003elro_s1f1

Thy Dear Father
Wm Penn

Portrait of

William Penn

From ivory carving by Sylvanus Bevan, in possession of Alfred Waterhouse, Esq. Berkshire, Eng.

Signature from autograph letter of June 19, 1682 in the collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Book-plate, showing coat of arms, reproduced from copy in his Bible.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS PEOPLE

FROM THEIR EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY

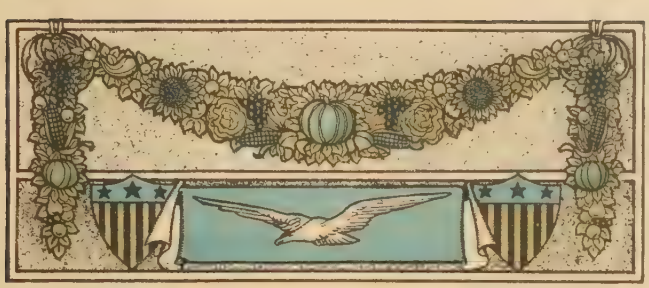
ELROY McKENDREE AVERY

IN FIFTEEN VOLUMES
VOLUME III

CLEVELAND
THE BURROWS BROTHERS
COMPANY ~~~MCMVII

COPYRIGHT 1907 BY
ELROY McKENDREE AVERY

MAPS, ILLUSTRATIONS, COMPOSITION,
PLATES, AND PRESSWORK BY
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS,
BUFFALO, NEW YORK,
CLEVELAND



PREFACE

THIS volume is devoted to the period between active colonization and the final struggle for the conquest of New France. As a whole, the period herein treated, "the neglected period of American history," lacks the dramatic characteristics of the years that went before and of those that came after. It is convenient to divide it into three parts, one point of division coinciding with the accession of William and Mary to the English throne and the other falling about the year 1715.

In the second section of the story herewith given, we have the elaboration of a British colonial system, the enactment of more comprehensive navigation acts, and the introduction of machinery intended to secure their efficient administration. These years were also years in which England was engaged in war with France and Spain, struggles that endangered the peace and security of the colonies and intensified the desire of the mother country to make her American plantations helpful to herself. The American colonists felt and resented the laying on of the heavy hand and evinced a disposition to stand for rights that they felt were theirs by inheritance and contract. They thus laid themselves open to the charge of breaking the laws and of failing in military duties. In no other period were the complaints of royal officers and English merchants in America so frequent, and seizures for illegal trading so numerous as they were in the years from 1690 to 1715. At no period were the rights of the crown and the rights of the inhabitants

more difficult to distinguish than they were then. In those years, proprietary governments were forced to the wall and colonial charters were subjected to inquisitorial torture.

The third part of this period stands in sharp contrast with the second. Added to the historical neglect that clings also to the earlier is what Burke called the "wise and salutary neglect" of governmental policy. On the heels of the accession of the Hanoverians to the English throne and the passing of pressing danger from Frenchmen and red men came a disposition that eliminated much of the galling rigidity of the navigation acts and suffered "a generous nature to take her own way to perfection." Some of the old conflicts were continued but the browbeating of the colonists by such officials as Dudley and Randolph was mitigated and a political and economic advance stood where had been repression and distress. As this was the period in which were trained the men who later sat in the stamp-act congress and in the continental congresses, its importance should not be measured by the standard of conspicuousness.

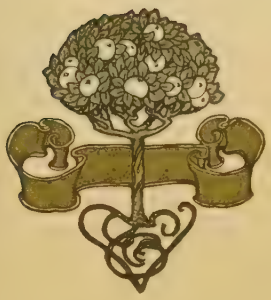
I am well aware that there is a growing desire on the part of many Americans of culture for information concerning the social and economic history of their ancestors. This knowledge has not been without effect upon the chapters herewith submitted. If any reader of this book wants a more minute study of domestic, religious, and industrial life in the first half of the eighteenth century than is here given, he will find, in the bibliographical appendix at the end of the volume, references to some of the best of the numerous works treating specifically of that phase of the history of the period now under consideration.

In the preparation of this volume, as in that of the two that preceded it, I have been under deep obligation to many friends for kind words of suggestion, caution, and encouragement. I desire to recognize the help given to me by Professor William Robert Shepherd and Albert Cook Myers in their reading of the chapters on Pennsyl-

vania; by Newton D. Mereness in his reading of the chapters on Maryland; by Professor W. Roy Smith and A. S. Salley Jr. in their reading of the chapters on South Carolina; by Professor Frank Heywood Hodder in his reading of all the chapters. Especially am I indebted for the valuable assistance rendered by Victor H. Paltsits of the New York Public Library (Lenox), and by Dr. Paul L. Haworth of the department of history of Columbia University.

ELROY M. AVERY

Cleveland, February 22, 1907.



CONTENTS

Introductory : Lists of Maps and Illustrations ; English Prime Ministers and Secretaries of State ; Chronology ; Genealogy.

I. Carolina (1663–91) 1
II. Virginia — Bacon's Rebellion (1676–91) 28
III. Maryland after the Restoration (1661–92) 46
IV. New York (1664–90) 57
V. New Jersey (1664–88) 79
VI. Pennsylvania (1681–89) 94
VII. The King Philip War (1671–78) . . 111
VIII. The Dominion of New England (1650–89) 125
IX. The French Exploration of the West (1634–89) 155

X. The Wars of the Royal William, Anne, and George (1689–1745) 182
XI. British Colonial Policy — Economic (1689–1745) 192
XII. British Colonial Policy — Political (1689–1745) 206
XIII. The End of Proprietary Rule in South Carolina (1690–1721) 217
XIV. The End of Proprietary Rule in North Carolina (1690–1731) 234
XV. Proprietary Rule in Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey (1688–1718) . 243
XVI. Royal Rule in Maryland and Virginia (1690–1715) 252

XVII.	Royal Rule in New York (1689–98)	260
XVIII.	Royal Rule in New York and New Jersey (1698–1719)	269
XIX.	Massachusetts under Bradstreet and Phips (1688–95)	278
XX.	Massachusetts under Stoughton, Bellomont, and Dudley (1695–1715)	289
XXI.	Rhode Island and Connecticut (1690–1715)	298
XXII.	Canada and Louisiana (1689–1745)	309
XXIII.	Florida (1688–1745)	327
XXIV.	Georgia and the Carolinas (1721–45)	329
XXV.	Virginia and Maryland (1715–45)	350
XXVI.	The Middle Colonies (1719–45)	363
XXVII.	New England (1716–45)	383
	Bibliographical Appendix	407

NOTE.— A general index will be found in the last volume of this work.

ILLUSTRATIONS

William Penn . . . . . *Frontispiece*

Portrait:

From a photograph of an ivory carving by Bevan. No portrait of Penn, painted from life, is known with certainty to exist, hence we use a reproduction of this carving which doubtless gives the most accurate representation of Penn's appearance obtainable. A certain Sylvanus Bevan, a Quaker apothecary in London, skilful in carving, learned that no good portrait of Penn was to be found, and made this little ivory bust from personal recollection for Lord Cobham, who on receiving it exclaimed: "It is Penn himself." The original is in the possession of Alfred Waterhouse, Esq., Yattendon Court, Berkshire, England.

Autograph:

From his letter to his children, reproduced on page 101.

Arms:

From his book-plate appearing in his Bible, now in possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Map of the South Atlantic Coast 1

Seal of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina . . 2

The original wax impression is in the Public Record Office, London.

Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon 3

From photograph of original painting by Gerard Soest, now in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Popple's Map of North America, 1733 . . . *between* 4 *and* 5

Close facsimile considerably reduced in size from colored original in the Library of Congress.

Autographs of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina . 5

The signatures of John Colleton, George Monk, and Ashley Cooper were traced from original documents in the British Museum; the other signatures have previously appeared in many works.

John Locke (Portrait and Autograph) 6

Portrait from photograph of original painting by T. Brownover, now in the National Portrait Gallery, London. Autograph from Netherclift's *Hand-Book to Autographs*. London, 1862.

Half-title of Locke's *Fundamental Constitutions* . 7

Last Page of the *Fundamental Constitutions*, Containing Rules of Precedency 8

The two foregoing are reproduced from edition of 1669–70 in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building). There were five different issues of the *Fundamental Constitutions* printed between 1669 and 1698: (1) July 21, 1669, had 81 articles; (2) March 1, 1669–70, had 120 articles; (3) January 12, 1681–82, had 120 articles; (4) one of a still later date had 121 articles; (5) one dated April 11, 1698, had only 41 articles.

Facsimile of Map of Carolina, about 1670 . . 9

Photographed from a copy of original in Ogilby's *America*, 1670-71, in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Portrait of Sir George Carteret 11

From a photograph of original painting, by Lely, in the possession of Francis John Thynne, Esq., of London.

Map of Port Royal and Vicinity 13

Map of Charles Town Harbor, at about 1670–90 14

Corrected for this work by Mr. A. S. Salley Jr., Columbia, S. C.

Autograph of Joseph West 14

Traced from an original furnished by Mr. A. S. Salley Jr.

Portrait of Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftesbury 15

From original painting by John Greenhill, now in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Order of Governor and Council to Lay out Charles Town, dated April 30, 1672 16

From photograph of original supplied by Mr. A. S. Salley Jr.

Portrait of George Monk, Duke of Albemarle . 18

From original painting in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Portrait of Henry Morgan 19

Reproduced from Esquemeling's *De Americaensche Zee-Roovers*, Amsterdam, 1678, wherein he is named "Johan." This is the original Dutch edition of his *Bucaniers of America*.

Morgan's Destruction of the Spanish Armada at Maracaibo 20

From the same.

Engraved Title-page of the First Dutch Edition of Esquemeling, 1678 21

From copy in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Signatures to Oath of Allegiance to King James II. and the Lords Proprietors, 1685 (two plates) . 22

From photographs of the documents supplied by Mr. A. S. Salley Jr.

Autograph of James Colleton 23

Traced from original in the British Museum. This autograph is often included in lists of the Lords Proprietors in place of that of John Colleton, his brother.

Morden's Map of Carolina, 1687 24
First published in Blome's *Present State of his Majesty's Isles and territories in America*. London, 1687.

Autographs of Seth Sothell and his Council . . 26
Supplied from original documents by Mr. A. S. Salley Jr.

Tobacco Proclamation, 1630 29
From an original broadside in the collection of the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

Autograph of Nathaniel Bacon 30
From MS. in the Virginia State Library, Richmond.

Plan of the Foundations of Jamestown Buildings . 37
On the plan are shown the foundations of the state-house and other buildings burned by Nathaniel Bacon's troops in September, 1676. These foundations were unearthed in 1903. We are enabled to reproduce by the courtesy of Mr. Samuel H. Yonge.

Foundations of Jamestown Buildings . . . 38
A view of the preceding from a photograph supplied by courtesy of Mr. Samuel H. Yonge.

Ruins of Berkeley's Plantation 39

First Page of MS. Journal of the Virginia House of Burgesses, June 8, 1680 40
Reproduced from original in the Public Record Office, London. These records began in 1680 and continued to 1732.

Portrait of Lord Culpeper 41
From a painting in possession of the Virginia Historical Society.

Plate Given to the Queen of Pamunkey . . 42
Presented by the English at the time of peace with the Indians the year after Bacon's rebellion. It is now in possession of the Virginia Historical Society.

Portrait of Lord Howard of Effingham . . . 44
From original painting in the Virginia State Library.

Coat of Arms of Nathaniel Bacon 45
From original supplied by courtesy of Mr. Leon Brooks Bacon.

Baltimore Coins 46
Note the misspelling MVLTILICAMINI instead of MVLTIPLICAMINI on the sixpence, the middle coin. These are reproduced from photograph of the originals owned by the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

Alsop's Map of Maryland, 1666 47
Reproduced from *A Character of the Province of Maryland*, by George Alsop, London, 1666. From copy in possession of the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.

Augustine Herman's Map of Virginia and Maryland, 1673 48
From original furnished by Dr. Julius F. Sachse, Philadelphia.

Autograph of Charles Calvert, Third Lord Baltimore 49

Photographed from original in possession of the Maryland Historical Society. The parchment containing this autograph is a lease, dated "29 Charles II, 8 March. From James Clement of London and Charles, Lord Baltimore, to Richard Allibond of Greys Inn. Middlesex."

Portrait of Charles Calvert, Third Lord Baltimore 50
From original painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller, now in possession of Sir William Eden at Windlestone Hall, Durham, by whose permission it was photographed for this work.

Portrait of Augustine Herman 51
From photograph of original furnished by Dr. Julius F. Sachse.

James II. (Portrait and Autograph) 52
Portrait from Cust's *Catalogue* of the portraits in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Flag of Maryland 53
Reproduced in correct original colors from the *Maryland Manual* for 1905. The state flag of Maryland of the present day is the same.

First page of the "Declaration" of Coode and the Insurgents 54
The original is a folio tract of eight pages, published in 1689. We reproduce title-page from copy in the John Carter Brown Library.

Map of Saint Marys and Vicinity 55

Autograph of Richard Nicolls 58
Traced from an original in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

A Dutch Tavern in Beaver Street, New York . 61
Photographed from a plate in Valentine's *Manual* for 1853, entitled, "Dutch Cottage in Beaver Street, 1679."

Great Seal of the Province of New York . . 62
From O'Callaghan's *Documentary History of New York.*

The "Duke's Plan" of New York, 1664 . . *between* 62 *and* 63
This map, known as the "Duke's Plan," shows New York as it was in September, 1661, and is the earliest extant English map of New York. We follow a photograph specially taken for this work from the original in the British Museum. The colors are from a copy in possession of the New York Historical Society.

Autograph of Francis Lovelace 63

Portrait of Sir Edmund Andros 64
Reproduced from an engraving in the *Andros Tracts* which was made from a photograph of an original painting owned by Amias Andros, Esq., of London.

Coat of Arms of Andros 66
From a copy in the collection of the Bostonian Society, Old State House, Boston.

New York in 1679 67
Reproduced from a lithograph in Dankers and Sluyter's *Voyage to New York*, 1679–80. First published by the Long Island Historical Society.

Autograph of Thomas Dongan 68
The Magna Charta 70
From a heliotype print of the original document in the British Museum.
First Page of the Dongan Charter 74
From a photograph of the original owned by the city of New York, deposited in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).
Seal Accompanying the Dongan Charter, and Silver Box in which the Seal is Preserved 75
Somewhat reduced in size. On the box is engraved the name of Nicholas Bayard, then mayor of New York City.
Letter by Andros while at Pemaquid, January 26, 1688–89 76
From the original in the Massachusetts Archives, State House, Boston.
Great Seal of New England under Andros . . 77
From original wax impression in the Massachusetts Historical Society.
Leisler's Autograph and Seal 77
Lease from the Duke of York to Berkeley and Carteret, June 23, 1664 80
From original in possession of the New Jersey Historical Society.
The Re-lease from the Duke of York to Berkeley and Carteret, June 24, 1664 . . . .
between 80 *and* 81
From original in possession of the New Jersey Historical Society.
Seal of Berkeley and Carteret 81
From a wax impression in possession of the New Jersey Historical Society.
Autograph and Seal of George Carteret . . 81
From a document of July 29, 1674, in possession of the New Jersey Historical Society.
Autograph of Philip Carteret 82
From an original in possession of the New Jersey Historical Society.
Autograph of Elizabeth, Lady Carteret . . 82
From an original in possession of the New Jersey Historical Society.
Letter by Abraham Pierson, September 27, 1667 . 83
From original in the New York Public Library (Ford Collection).
Autograph of Edward Byllynge 84
Map of New Jersey, Showing Division Lines of 1674, 1687, and 1743 84
The Quintipartite Deed 86
From the original document in possession of the New Jersey Historical Society.
Title-page of *A Brief Account of the Province of East-Jersey* 88
From original edition in the John Carter Brown Library.

Seal of East Jersey 89
From Whitehead's *East Jersey*.
Autograph of Robert Barclay 89
Autograph of Gawen Lawrie 90
From an original in the New Jersey Historical Society.
Title-page of *The Model of the Government of East-New-Jersey* 90
From original in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).
Autograph of the Earl of Perth 91
Autograph of Andrew Hamilton of New Jersey . 92
From a reproduction in *Documents Relative to the History of the State of New Jersey*. Newark, 1881.
Portrait of William Penn in Armor (Age Twenty-two) 95
From original painting in the collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, by an unknown artist, probably Sir Peter Lely, but its authenticity like that of other Penn portraits is not beyond question.
George Fox's Watch-seal and Wax Impression Therefrom 96
From originals in possession of Samuel Alexander, Esq., through courtesy of the Friends Society of London.
Map of the Pennsylvania and Delaware Boundary 97
Title-page of Penn's *Some Account of the Province of Pennsilvania* 98
From original copy in the Pennsylvania Historical Society. Size of page of original is 11⅜ x 7¼ inches.
Autograph and Seal of William Markham . . 99
Oath and Signatures of the Members of Markham's Council 99
From *A History of Philadelphia*, by Scharf and Westcott.
Title-page of *The Frame of Government* . . 100
From Penn's personal copy containing his book-plate in possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.
William Penn's Letter to his Children . . 101
From original in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.
Letitia Cottage 102
Supposed to have been Penn's first residence in Philadelphia. Its original location was on Front Street, south of the present Market Street, but it is now in Fairmount Park.
Seal and Signatures Affixed to the Frame of Government 103
Reduced from a facsimile in Smith and Watson's *American Historical and Literary Curiosities*.
Autograph of Thomas Wynne 104

Seal of the Province of Pennsylvania . . . 105
From *Year Book of the Pennsylvania Society*, 1903.
Part of John Harris's Map Showing Pennsbury Manor 107
From original in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.
Penn's Clock 108
In possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia.
Portrait of William Penn (Age Fifty-two) . . 108
From the original in the Pennsylvania Historical Society (but see note to Penn's Portrait in Armor, p. 95).
Autograph of John Blackwell 109
Map of New England at the Time of the King Philip War 112
King Philip's Letter to Governor Prence, Written by his Secretary, John Sassamon, a Christian Convert, 1663 113
From original in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth, Mass.
Letter by John Eliot 114
From original in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building) given to that institution by Robert C. Winthrop, Esq.
Miniature Portrait of Governor John Leverett . 115
From photograph of the original by courtesy of the present owner, Mr. Richard M. Saltonstall of Boston.
Map of English Settlements in Massachusetts and Rhode Island at the Time of the King Philip War 116
Autograph of Robert Treat 117
From a letter in the Massachusetts Archives.
Map of the Great Swamp Fight, in which King Philip was Killed 117
Pynchon House, built in 1660, at Springfield, Mass. 118
From an original drawing by Rev. William B. O. Peabody (1832) in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. This was the first brick house erected in the Connecticut valley. It was called also "Old Fort" because used as a refuge in King Philip's war.
Josiah Winslow (Portrait and Autograph) . . 118
Portrait from original in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth.
Autograph of James Avery 119
Autograph of John Gallop 119
King Philip's Samp Bowl 121
This relic is of wood and is in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.
Autograph of Benjamin Church 121
From an original letter in the Massachusetts Archives.

Title-page of the Earliest General History of the King Philip War 122
From a copy of the original edition in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building). Only about six copies are known.

First Page of Tompson's Poem Commemorating the King Philip War 123
Benjamin Tompson was the earliest native American poet. His tombstone at Roxbury styles him a "learned schoolmaster & physician & ye renouned poet of N: Engl:" The only known copy of his *New-Englands Crisis* is in the Boston Athenæum, but lacks the title-page. A facsimile edition was brought out in 1894 by the Club of Odd Volumes. For further information consult Dr. Green's *Ten Fac-simile Reproductions relating to New England*, Boston, 1902, pp. 25–30.

Title-page of Endecott's *Humble Petition* . . 125
From original in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

First Page of Text of Endecott's *Humble Petition* . 126
From the same.

Title-page of the Earliest Printed Collection of Massachusetts Acts and Laws . . . 127
From a copy of the original in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Simon Bradstreet (Portrait and Autograph) . . 128
Photograph from the original painting in the senate chamber of the Massachusetts State House.

Autographs of the Four Royal Commissioners, Richard Nicolls, Robert Carr, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick 129

William Hack's Manuscript Map of New England, Drawn about 1663 and said to be the Earliest Draft of the Territory of New England . . 130
From original in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth.
William Hack came to New England in 1660, and went back to England in 1664, and never returned. He became later a noted maker of maps.

Map of Boston Harbor 131

Portrait of Charles II. 134
From Cust's *Catalogue* of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Autograph of Anne Bradstreet 135

Title-page of Anne Bradstreet's *Tenth Muse* . . 135
From original in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Portrait of Thomas Thacher, First Minister of Old South Church 136
From oil portrait in Old South Meeting House, Boston.

The Earliest Treatise on a Medical Subject Printed in English America, by Thomas Thacher . 137
Printed in 1677. Reproduced from a copy in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Beginning and Ending of Letter from Edward Randolph to the King, November 17, 1676 . . 138
From the original document now in the Public Record Office, London. It is his reply to the Boston magistrates for not convening the general court.

Autograph of Edward Cranfield 140
From an original letter in the office of the secretary of state, Concord, N. H. Furnished by E. N. Pearson, Esq.

Autograph of Joseph Dudley 141

Autograph of John Richards 142
Traced from an original signature in the Massachusetts Archives.

Advertisement of a Runaway Servant . . . 142
From original in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Title-page of *The Key of Wealth* 144
From Davis's *Currency and Banking*.

New England Colors, 1686 146
This was the flag of New England under the administration of Sir Edmund Andros. In the British State Paper Office is a draft of this flag with description, namely, it shows the cross of Saint George borne on a white field occupying the whole flag, the center of the cross emblazoned with a yellow or gilt crown over the cipher of the sovereign, King James I.

Autograph of Andros 146
From original document in the Massachusetts Archives.

Fitzhugh's Copy, 1694, of Captain Cyprian Southake's Map of Boston Harbor, 1689 . . . 147
Facsimile of original in the British Museum. It is said to be the earliest map of Boston Harbor. Reproduced from a copy in the collection of the Bostonian Society, Old State House, Boston.

Heading of a Petition of Sir William Phips and Increase Mather to William and Mary, Asking that Andros be removed, dated January 20, 1689 . 148
From original in the Massachusetts Archives.

Part of Broadside Published upon the Occasion of the Seizure of Andros . . . 148
From original in the Massachusetts Archives.

Broadside Address of the Principal Inhabitants, Requesting Andros to Surrender up the Government 149
From original in the Massachusetts Archives.

Instructions for the Agents of Massachusetts Bay Colony to Justify their Conduct in Removing Andros 150
From original in the Massachusetts Archives.

The so-called Charter Oak 153
Showing it as it appeared in 1855 or 1856. After the painting by C. D. Brownell, now in the Boston Athenæum. In an unpublished manuscript,

Isaac W. Stuart, who owned the tree at the time, tells of its fall. "On August 21, 1856, at one o'clock in the morning, this historic oak was struck by a terrific gust, and, owing to its trunk being reduced to a mere shell of a few inches, it fell with a sharp thud and crackling sound." The site at Hartford, Conn., where this tree stood, is now marked by a slab.

Map of the English Colonies, Showing the "Fall Line" 155

Map of the French, English, and Spanish Possessions 156

Isaac Jogues (Portrait and Autograph) . . . 158
Portrait shows hand mutilated by torture of Iroquois. Reproduced from *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 23, frontispiece.

The Maisonneuve Monument at Montreal . . 159
From a photograph.

French Arms 160
Woven upon a çope given by Louis XIV. to Bishop Laval and supposed to have been worked by Anne of Austria. Now owned by the bishopric of Quebec.

Map of the Jesuit Missions in Huronia . . 161
Compiled by the Rev. Arthur Edward Jones, S. J., archivist Saint Mary's College, Montreal, Canada.

Portrait of Bishop Laval 162
From photograph of original supplied by Msgr. T. E. Hamel, of Laval University, Quebec.

Autograph of Tracy 163

Talon's Portrait and Coat of Arms . . . 163
Reproduced from the *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1903. The original is, however, a modern painting by Theophile Hamel.

Autograph of Claude Allouez 164
From a letter, dated April 28, 1662, to Paul Ragueneau. Original is in the archives of Saint Mary's College, Montreal.

A Canadian Trapper on Snow-shoes . . . 164
From La Potherie's *Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale*. Paris, 1753.

Coat of Arms of the Hudson Bay Company . 166

Frontenac Statue at Quebec 167
From statue by Hebert, placed in one of the niches of the central forefront of the Legislative Building. There is no known authenticated portrait of Frontenac. See Gagnon's *Le Palais Législatif de Québec*. Quebec, 1897.

Autograph of Jolliet 168

Portrait of Jacques Marquette 168
From an oil portrait discovered at Montreal in 1897. For a full discussion of the grounds for a belief that it is a genuine contemporary portrait, and a much more creditable likeness than the fanciful features of Trentanove's statue, see *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 71, p. 400, and note 51.

The Calumet 168
From *Report* of the United States Bureau of American Ethnology.

Thevenot's Map, Showing Extent of Marquette's Discovery 169
Closely facsimiled from original.

The Burial of Marquette 170
From a bronze relief on Marquette Building, Chicago, by MacNeil, reproduced in Thwaites's *Father Marquette*. "After that, the Body was carried to the church . . . "—*Jesuit Relations*, vol. 59, p. 203.

Marquette's Tombstone 170
Erected at Saint Ignace, Michigan, over the spot where the bones of Marquette repose.

Map of Fort Frontenac and Vicinity, Kingston, Ontario 171

Plan of Fort Frontenac and Saint Lawrence River, 1785 172

Fort Frontenac, after a Plan by Denonville, November 13, 1685 172
From Faillon's *Histoire de la Colonie Française*.

La Salle (Portrait and Autograph) 173
Portrait shows him at twenty-two or twenty-three years of age, at about the time he came to Canada. "As to the portrait of La Salle . . . I have not been able to trace its origin . . . and I have been forced to choose that which offered the greatest degree of resemblance."—Margry, Introduction to *Voyages des Français*.

Map Showing Locality where the "Griffon" was Built and Launched 174

The "Griffon" Tablet 174
Erected at the village of LaSalle, five miles from Niagara Falls, in commemoration of the building of the first vessel used by white men in navigating the upper lakes. It is claimed that on that spot La Salle constructed and launched the "Griffon."

The Launching of the "Griffon" 175
From the French edition of Hennepin's *Voyage*. Amsterdam, 1704. Although issued twenty-five years after 1679, the date of the building, it shows, nevertheless, some traces of correctness.

Starved Rock 176
From a photograph.

Title-page of Hennepin's *New Discovery* . . 176
From copy in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Autograph of Tonty 177
From Shea's *Charlevoix*.

Arms of La Salle 178
Reproduced from Gravier's *Decouvertes et etablissements de Cavelier de La Salle de Rouen dans l'Amerique du Nord*. Paris, 1870.

Murder of La Salle 179
Facsimile from Hennepin's *New Discovery*, 1698.

Autograph of Denonville 179
Supplied by Mr. Victor H. Paltsits.

Title-page of Tonty's *Dernieres Decouvertes de M. De la Salle* 180
From original edition in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Map of Indian Tribes and Stocks of Eastern United States and Canada, 1700–50 . . *between* 180 *and* 181
Prepared by Mr. James Mooney of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Autograph of Frontenac 181
From Shea's *Charlevoix*.

Queen Mary II. (Portrait and Autograph) . . 183
Portrait from Wheatley's *Historical Portraits*. London, 1897. The original painting, by William Wissing, is in the National Portrait Gallery, London. Autograph from Netherclift's *Hand-Book*.

King William (Portrait and Autograph) . . . 184
Reproduced from Cust's *Catalogue*. The original, painted by Jan Wyck, was transferred, in 1897, from the British Museum to the National Portrait Gallery. Autograph from Netherclift's *Hand-Book*.

King Louis XIV. (Portrait and Autograph) . . 185
From original by Rigaud in the gallery of the Louvre.

America after the Treaty of Utrecht . . . 188

Queen Anne (Portrait and Autograph) . . . 189
From Cust's *Catalogue*. The original painting, by John Closterman, is in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

The Salt Act, dated January 13, 1729 . . . 194
From the original edition of 1730, in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Act to Encourage the Making of Indigo, dated November 10, 1747 195
From the original edition of 1748, in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Shoes of the Palatines 196
These relics are in the possession of the New York Agricultural Society.

The Frey House, Palatine Bridge, Built in 1739 . 197
From photograph supplied by courtesy of the present owner, Mr. S. L. Frey. It was built by his great-great-grandfather, Henry Frey, and is a good type of the dwelling of a prosperous Palatine in the Mohawk valley.

Shipping Bill, dated May 22, 1718 . . . 197
From original in the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

A Copper Rosa Americana, 1722 198
Reproduced from a specimen in the collection of the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Act to Prevent the Exportation of Hats from the American Colonies, dated January 13, 1731 . 200
From the original edition of 1732, in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Act Forbidding the Erection of Iron Mills in the American Colonies, dated November 16, 1749 . 201

Act to Encourage the Importation into England of American Pig and Bar Iron, dated November 16, 1749 201
This and the preceding appear in the edition of 1750, pp. 519 and 523. Reproduced from a copy in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

The Molasses Act 203
From the original edition in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Map of Forms of Government in the English Colonies, 1620–1733 . . . *between* 206 *and* 207

Portrait of Robert Walpole, First Earl of Orford . 214
From Cust's *Catalogue* of the National Portrait Gallery. Painted in 1740 by Jean Baptiste Vanloo.

Portrait of Thomas Pelham Holles, Duke of Newcastle 215
Drawn in crayon by William Hoare, R. A. In 1887, it was presented to the National Portrait Gallery by Walter, fourth earl of Chichester. We follow reproduction in Cust's *Catalogue*.

Arms of Philip Ludwell 217

Saint James Church, Goose Creek, near Charleston, S. C. 218

Interior of Saint James Church 218
These views were furnished by Samuel G. Stoney of Charleston, S. C., secretary of the Vestry of Saint James Church, Goose Creek.

Autographs of Joseph Blake and John Archdale . 219
From originals furnished by Mr. A. S. Salley Jr.

Medal of the Carolina Company 219
Of this there were two distinct issues both of which are given in Crosby's *Early Coins of America*. The obverse is the same in each but the reverse of the earlier issue has the misspelling "Proprieters" which is corrected in the later issue.

Title-page of Archdale's *New Description* . . 220
Reproduced from a copy of the original in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Autograph of Sir Nathaniel Johnson . . . 222
From photograph of an original document supplied by Mr. A. S. Salley Jr.

Autograph of Edward Tynte 224
Supplied by Mr. A. S. Salley Jr.

Autograph and Seal of Robert Gibbes . . . 224
From an original supplied by Mr. A. S. Salley Jr.

John Lawson's Map of Carolina, 1709 . . . *between* 224 *and* 225
From original in the Library of Congress.

Title-page of Trott's Printed Laws of South Carolina 225
From original in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

George I. (Portrait and Autograph) 225
Portrait from Cust's *Catalogue*. It was painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller. In 1879, it was transferred from the British Museum to the National Portrait Gallery, London. Autograph from Netherclift's *Hand-Book*.

Last Page of Act to Settle and Regulate the Indian Trade, June 17, 1712 226
From original in the Library of Congress.

Autographs and Seals of Robert Daniell and his Council 226
From originals supplied by Mr. A. S. Salley Jr.

Moll's Map of Carolina . . *between* 226 *and* 227
Based upon his map of 1715, but to save space we have inserted in left upper corner a plan of the town from another portion of the map.

Autograph and Seal of Robert Johnson . . . 227
From an original supplied by Mr. A. S. Salley Jr.

Signatures to a South Carolina Act of December 11, 1717 228
From original in the Library of Congress.

Title-page of Johnson's *General History . . . of the Pyrates* 229
Reproduced from a copy of the original in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Portrait of William Rhett 229
From original owned by Miss Claudia S. Rhett, Charleston, S. C.

Title-page of Francis Yonge's *Narrative* . . 230
Reproduced from the very rare original in the British Museum.

Autograph and Seal of James Moore . . . 231
From original supplied by Mr. A. S. Salley Jr.

Document Signed by Thomas Cary . . . 235

Title-page of Lawson's *New Voyage* . . . 236
Reproduced from the original in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Map of North Carolina Precincts, 1663–1729 . *between* 236 *and* 237
From Hawks's *History of North Carolina*.

Map of North Carolina, Illustrating the Indian Wars 237

Plan of Eden, 1736 . . . *between* 238 *and* 239
From original in the John Carter Brown Library.

Autograph of Charles Eden 239
From photograph of original document.

"Blackbeard" the Pirate 239
From the first edition (1724) of Johnson's *General History of the . . . Pyrates*, in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Autograph of George Burrington 240
Traced from an original document in the Public Record Office, London.

Signatures to an Act of the General Assembly of North Carolina, 1729 240
From an original act of the general assembly. Photograph supplied by Mr. Clarence S. Brigham.

Title-page of *The Liberty and Property of British Subjects Asserted* 241
Reproduced from original in the John Carter Brown Library.

Act by which the Proprietors of Carolina Surrendered their Rights in that Province to the Crown 242
Reproduced from original in the British Museum.

Autograph of Thomas Lloyd 243

Old Swedes' Church, Wilmington, Delaware . . 244
From a photograph.

Memoranda from Hannah Penn's Household Expense Book 245
Now in possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Portrait of James Logan 246
Reproduced from original in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

Seal of Philadelphia, 1701 246

Penn's Order for the Survey of the Circular Boundary Between the Counties of Chester (Pennsylvania) and New Castle (now Delaware). Report of the Commission Appointed by Penn to Survey the Pennsylvania Boundary . . *between* 246 *and* 247
Reproduced from originals in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Penn's Seal, Attached to a Land Patent, dated July 20, 1713 247
From original in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

View of Philadelphia, painted by Peter Cooper, about 1718 . . . . . 248, 249
The original painting now hangs in the entrance hall of the Library Company of Philadelphia, by whose permission it is reproduced. It is the oldest known view of the city. For use in reproduction, we employed a large and excellent photograph (copyrighted) of the original furnished by Dr. Julius F. Sachse, and had this colored in facsimile of the original painting.

Autograph of Charles Gookin 248
Part of Page 139 of *The Laws of the Province of Pennsilvania* 249
This was the first printed collection of the laws of Pennsylvania. It was published in 1714. From copy of the original in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).
A Broadside List of the Members of the Society of Merchants of London, 1692–93 . . . 251
From original in the Massachusetts Historical Society.
Autograph of Francis Nicholson 252
Traced from an original in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).
Autograph of Lionel Copley 253
From an original in the Public Record Office, London.
Autograph of James Blair 255
Traced from an original in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).
First Page of *A Modest Answer to a Malicious Libel* 255
From the original edition of 1706 in the British Museum.
Autograph of Nathaniel Blackiston . . . 256
From an original in the Public Record Office, London.
Autograph of Thomas Bray 256
From tracing supplied by Messrs. Stevens & Brown, London.
Autograph of Benedict Leonard Calvert . . 257
From a tracing supplied by the Maryland Historical Society.
Alexander Spotswood (Portrait and Autograph) . 258
From painting in possession of the Virginia State Library.
Autographs of Philipse, Van Cortlandt, and Bayard 260
Tracings from original documents in the New York State Library, Albany.
Massachusetts Bill for Commissioners of Several Colonies to meet at New York and Confederate for Defense against French and Indians, dated March 19, 1690 262
From original in the Massachusetts Archives.
Map of the Lake Champlain Country . . . 264
Autograph of Henry Sloughter 265
Traced from an original in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).
Autograph of Richard Ingoldesby 265
Traced from an original in the New York Public Library (Myers Collection).
Autograph of Benjamin Fletcher 266
Traced from an original in the New York Public Library (Myers Collection).
Fletcher's Lord's Day Proclamation . . . 267
Of greatest rarity. The New York Public Library has a photograph of it from which the present reproduction has been made.

Receipt by William Bradford 267
From the original in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Benjamin Fletcher's Proclamation, June 6, 1695, Ordering a Ship and Detachment of Soldiers to Guard the Coast Against French Privateers . 268
From an original in the New York State Library, Albany.

The Earl of Bellomont (Portrait and Autograph) . 269
Portrait from a heliotype in Frederic de Peyster's *Life and Administration of Richard, Earl of Bellomont*. New York, 1879.
Autograph from an original in the New York Public Library (Myers Collection).

Bellomont's Coat of Arms 270
From a copy in the collection of the Bostonian Society, Old State House, Boston.

Autograph of John Nanfan 270
Traced from an original in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Autograph of Lord Cornbury 271
Traced from an original in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Autograph of Lord Lovelace 273
Traced from an original in the New York Public Library (Myers Collection).

Portrait of one of the Four Mohawk Chiefs Taken to England 273
From a mezzotint in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building). The original painting is by I. Verelst, who also painted the portraits of the other chiefs.

Signatures of the Four Mohawk Chiefs Appearing on a Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury . 274
From the original in the Library of Congress.

Autograph of Robert Hunter 274
From a letter of October 17, 1712, in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

A Page from Sir Hovenden Walker's Journal of his Expedition to Canada 275
From the *Journal: Or Full Account of the late Expedition to Canada*. London, 1720. Reproduced from copy in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Autograph of Lewis Morris 276
Traced from an original in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Portrait of Peter Schuyler 276
From original painting in possession of the Schuyler family, Albany. Photograph of this portrait was furnished by General James Grant Wilson.

Autograph of Daniel Coxe 277
From a facsimile published in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey*. Newark, 1881.

A Massachusetts Bay Broadside, dated June 22, 1689 278
From original in the Massachusetts Archives.

Autograph of Richard Mather 278

Portrait of Isaac Addington 279
Long-time secretary of Massachusetts Bay.
From original painting in the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, Boston.

Increase Mather (Portrait and Autograph) . . 279
From original painting, by John Vanderspriet, in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Map of New England 280

Autograph of William Phips 280

Facsimile of *Publick Occurrences* and the Order of the Governor and General Court Suppressing the Publication . . . *between* 280 *and* 281
The first American newspaper. The only known copy is in the Public Record Office, London, from which our reproduction was taken.
The order for the suppression of *Publick Occurrences* is from a copy in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Another copy is in the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. These two are the only known copies of this item.

Moll's Map of Port Royal, 1720 281
Appearing as an inset on his *A New Map of the North Parts of America*, copy in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Autograph of John Walley 281

Order of the Council Appointing Phips as General of the Canada (Quebec) Expedition . . 282
From original in the Massachusetts Archives.

Lahontan's Map of Quebec, 1703 282
From his *Nouveaux Voyages*, in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Massachusetts Indented Bill of Twenty Shillings, 1690 283
Reproduced from a specimen in the collection of the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

William Stoughton (Portrait and Autograph) . 284
Portrait from an engraving in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Autograph of Samuel Willard 286

Autograph of Thomas Danforth 286

Map of Salem Village, 1692 . . *between* 286 *and* 287
Adapted from map in Upham's *Salem Witchcraft* by Mr. William Van Sittert of The Burrows Brothers Company.

Samuel Sewall (Portrait and Autograph) . . 287
Portrait from a painting in the Massachusetts Historical Society, which is a good copy of the original owned (1885) by the Misses Ridgeway of Boston.
Sewall was judge of supreme court of Massachusetts Bay from 1692 to 1718.

Coat of Arms of John Leverett 290

Seal of Harvard College 290
From an original supplied by William C. Lane, Librarian of Harvard University.

Autograph of John Leverett 291

Portrait of Joseph Dudley 291
From a photograph of the original painting made about 1701 in the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, Boston.

Joseph Dudley's Coat of Arms 292
From a copy in the Bostonian Society, Old State House, Boston.

First Number of the *Boston News-Letter* . .
between 292 *and* 293
From a copy in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
There are two issues of this number, which vary in the setting of an advertisement on the last page.

Proclamation by Joseph Dudley 293
From an original copy in the American Antiquarian Society.

Massachusetts Indented Bill of Twenty Shillings . 295
From a specimen in the collection of the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Cotton Mather (Portrait and Autograph) . . 296
From Pelham's painting in the American Antiquarian Society.

Seal of Rhode Island, 1672 299
From an excellent impression in green wax found on a document of the General Assembly met at Newport, April 30, 1672, now in the Rhode Island State House.
This form of the seal is the one destroyed by Andros.

Map of the Territory in Dispute between Connecticut and Rhode Island 301

Engagement between an English and French Ship . 302
From Lahontan's *Nouveaux Voyages*, 1703, in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Portrait of Fitz-John Winthrop 304
From original painting in possession of the Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford.

Autograph of Gurdon Saltonstall 305
From an original document in the Massachusetts Archives, Boston.

Surveyors' Draft, Showing the Line of 1684 . . 305
From original in Connecticut State Library.

Order of the General Court of Connecticut Relative to Church Discipline 306
The Saybrook Platform resulted from this. Reproduced from original in the Connecticut State Library.

Statue of Abraham Pierson, on the Yale Campus . 307
From a photograph.

Portrait of Elihu Yale 307
From a painting by Enoch Zeeman in Alumni Hall, Yale University.

Autograph of Nicholas Perrot 309

Map of Canada and Adjacent Country . . . 310

Medal Given to Indian Chiefs in 1693 . . . 311
There were five sizes, all of the same design, of which this is the second largest. Photographs of this and numerous other contemporary French medals were kindly supplied by Mr. R. W. MacLachlan, secretary of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal.

Portrait of Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil 312
From original painting in possession of De Lery MacDonald, Esq., Manor House, Rigaud, Quebec, who courteously supplied a photograph for our use.

French Card Money, Twenty-four Livres, issued in 1735 312
Signed by Beauharnois the governor, Hocquart the intendant, and Varin the controller.
Reproduced from photograph of the original in the collection of R. W. MacLachlan, Esq.

Map of Acadia, Cape Breton Island, and Louisburg 313

Medal Commemorating the Founding of Louisburg 314
From a specimen in the Yale Collection. Issued in 1720, by the government of France.

Hennepin's Map of New France and Louisiana, 1683 315
From Father Louis Hennepin's *Description de la Louisiane*, published in 1683.

Map of Louisiana 316

Monument (erected in 1902) Marking the Site of Fort Louis de la Mobile 318

Louisiana in 1753 320
From Butel-Dumont's *Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, Paris, 1753, copy in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Portrait of John Law 321
From photograph of the original painting by Alexis Simeon Bell, now in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

One of Law's Bank-Notes 321
The original measures 6½ x 4 inches and is for 100 livres, dated January 1, 1720. From original supplied by Mr. Benjamin Betts, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Document with Law's Signature 322
Original measures 7¾ x 13 inches, and is a very interesting document in ornate script with signatures of Law and others, dated in August, 1717, which was just about the time when Law's bank was established. From original supplied by Mr. Benjamin Betts.

A John Law Medal issued in 1720 . . . 323
From the Yale collection.
Many different Law medals were issued. This, which is one of the most interesting, is described at length in Betts's *Medals*, pp. 58 and 59.

Contemporary Dutch Caricature of John Law . 323
From original supplied by Mr. Benjamin Betts. Law is represented being taken to the hospital in a chariot drawn by two game-cocks with devil's tails (cockatrices) (the two cocks being a part of the family arms of Law).

Plan of New Orleans in 1753 324
From Butel-Dumont's *Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, Paris, 1753, copy in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

A French Colonial Coin, 1722 325
From the collection in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Old City Gate of Saint Augustine 328
From a recent sketch.

James Edward Oglethorpe (Portrait and Autograph) 329
Portrait from an original engraving in the possession of Wymberly Jones DeRenne, Savannah, Georgia. Autograph from the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Seal of the Georgia Trustees 330
From *Third Report* of the Daughters of the American Revolution, which follows wax impressions of original seal from documents in England.

Map of Settlements from Charlestown to Saint Augustine 331

Title-page of Tailfer's *A True and Historical Narrative* 331
From original edition in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Contemporary Print Showing Costume of Salzburger Man and Woman 333
From original in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Tablet Marking the Ruins of Fort Frederica . 334

Facsimile of a Contemporary German Map of Georgia, A Plan of New Ebenezer, and Mill at New Ebenezer . . . *between* 334 *and* 335
From original furnished by Dr. Julius F. Sachse.

George Whitefield (Portrait and Autograph) . . 335
Portrait follows a reproduction, in Cust's *Catalogue*, of the original painting which is now in the National Portrait Gallery, London. It was painted by Woolaston. Autograph from original in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).
Autograph of Admiral Vernon 336
From an autograph letter in the British Museum.
Royal Seal of South Carolina 338
From photograph of a wax impression supplied by Mr. A. S. Salley Jr.
John Senex's Map of America . *between* 338 *and* 339
Published in *A New and General Atlas*. London, 1721.
From copy in the Library of Congress.
Map of South Carolina, 1730 341
Heading of the First Number of *The South Carolina Gazette* 342
Issued in January, 1732.
Autograph of William Bull Sr. 344
From original in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).
Charlestown in 1739 . . . *between* 344 *and* 345
From the *Charleston Year Book*, 1884. The original of this very rare plan is owned by the city of Charleston.
Map of North Carolina, Showing Counties and Precincts in 1737 348
Facsimile from *The Natural History of North Carolina*, by John Brickell. Dublin, 1737.
We reproduce from a copy in the Library of Congress (Map Department).
Title-page of *An Address to the Inhabitants of North Carolina*, 1746 349
From a copy of the original edition in the Massachusetts Historical Society.
Map of Spotswood's Route 351
Engraved Title-page of Robert Beverly's *History of Virginia*, 1722 352
From copy in possession of The Burrows Brothers Company.
Statue of Andrew Lewis 353
From a photograph. It stands at the base of the Washington monument on Capitol Square, Richmond.
Portrait of William Byrd of Westover . . . 354
Photographed from the original painting at Westover, Virginia, by permission of Mrs. William McCreery Ramsay.
Map of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania . 355
Heading of *The Virginia Gazette* 356
From original in the Virginia Historical Society.
Title-page of the First Book Printed in Virginia,

Poems on Several Occasions 357
Washington's personal copy, bearing his signature on the title-page. It is at present owned by the Boston Athenæum.

The Oaths of Allegiance, Abhorrency, and Abjuration 358
This is the so-called "Test Act." It appears as page 162 of *A Compleat Collection of the Laws of Maryland*, a folio volume printed at Annapolis in 1727 by William Parks. This was the first edition of Maryland's laws to be printed in the province. Reproduced from a copy of the original in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

Maryland Twenty-Shilling Bill, 1745 361
From an original in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Beginning of First Page of *A Dialogue Between Mr. Robert Rich and Roger Plowman* . . 364
The original is in possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia. It is a debate on the paper money question, in that day a topic of interest.

Heading of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* . . . 364
Printed by B. Franklin and H. Meredith.
From a copy in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

A Page from Franklin's Articles of Belief, Written in 1728 365
From the original in the Library of Congress.

Keith's House at Græme Park 365
From the original painting in the Pennsylvania Historical Society. The so-called "Græme Park" was at Horsham, Montgomery County, Pa.

Autograph of George Thomas 367
From the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Arms of George Thomas 367
From an engraving in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Pennsylvania Ten-Shilling Bill, 1723 367
From an original in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Map of Pennsylvania, 1717–45 368

Postmaster's Bill, Signed by Franklin, 1745 . . 371
From the original in the collection of the Bostonian Society.

Coat of Arms of William Burnet 371
From a copy in the collection of the Bostonian Society.

Portrait of Andrew Hamilton 376
From the original by Adolf Ulrik Wertmüller, in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Map of Lake Champlain, 1740 379
From original recently discovered in Europe, now in the Library of Congress, Map Department. The present reproduction is a facsimile in colors of the original.

Lewis Morris's Book-plate 381
From a copy in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

An Early Autograph of Franklin, 1724 . . . 382
From original in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

The Province House Arms 383
From the original in the Massachusetts Historical Society.
Autograph of Samuel Shute 383
From original document in the Massachusetts Archives.
Autograph of Elisha Cooke 384
From an original letter in the Massachusetts Archives.
Great Seal of Massachusetts about 1715 . . 384
From original document in the Massachusetts Archives.
Portrait of John Wentworth 388
From the original painting in the Massachusetts Historical Society.
Autograph of Thomas Westbrook . . . 388
From original in the Massachusetts Archives.
Autograph of Jeremiah Dummer 389
From a letter of September 9, 1719, in the Massachusetts Archives.
Autographs of Moulton and Harmon . . . 389
From originals in the Massachusetts Archives.
Last Paragraph of Captain Lovewell's Journal of his March against the Indians . . . 390
From original in the Massachusetts Archives.
Map of Lovewell's Fight 390
Autograph of William Tailer 392
From original in the Massachusetts Archives.
Jonathan Belcher (Portrait and Autograph) . . 392
From an original portrait, painted in 1729 by F. Leopoldt, in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Autograph from an original in the Massachusetts Archives.
Autograph of Spencer Phips 393
From his "Memorial," of November 26, 1742, in the Massachusetts Archives.
Portrait of William Shirley 394
From a mezzotint engraving by McArdell, after Hudson, in the collection of the Bostonian Society.
Autograph of Shirley 394
From a letter of November 26, 1742, in the Massachusetts Archives.
"A South East View of y^e^ Great Town of Boston," by William Price, 1743 395
From an original print in possession of the Bostonian Society.
Portrait of Sir William Pepperrell 396
From original, painted by John Smibert in 1751, owned by Mrs. Underhill A. Budd, of New York, a great-great-great-granddaughter of the hero of Louisburg.
Autograph of Richard Gridley 396
From an original in the Massachusetts Archives.
Map of the Siege of Louisburg, 1745 . . . 397
Letter by Pepperrell and Warren, May 7, 1745 . 398
The original is a summons to surrender, addressed to the French commander at Louisburg. It is in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Louisburg Memorial Medal 399
Struck in 1895. Reproduced from a specimen in the American Antiquarian Society.
New Hampshire Ten-Shilling Bill of 1737 . . 400
From engraver's proof preserved in the collection of the New Hampshire Historical Society.
Map of Rhode Island and Massachusetts Disputed Territory 402
Portrait of John Wanton 403
From the original painting in the Rhode Island State House.
Portrait of William Wanton 403
From the original painting in the Rhode Island State House.
Portrait of Richard Ward 404
From the original painting in the Rhode Island State House.
A Copper Threepence of Connecticut, 1737 . . 404
From a specimen in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).
Connecticut Act Relative to Taxation for the Maintenance of the Clergy 405
From *Acts and Laws of Connecticut*, session begun on May 11th, 1727. In the Connecticut State Library.

ENGLISH PRIME MINISTERS, Etc., 1660–1745

As explained in the second chapter of the second volume of this history, English monarchs could not legally act in public matters without the counsel of a body of official advisers which came to be known as the privy council. Gradually the practice of consulting a few confidential advisers instead of the whole council came into use. In the reign of Charles I., the burden of state affairs was borne by a committee of state which Clarendon says was enviously called the "cabinet council." After the revolution of 1688 and the development of the system of parliamentary government, much of the power formerly exercised by the privy council passed into the hands of an irregular select committee unknown to English law and the English "constitution." Prior to the reign of William III., "there were ministers but no ministry in the modern sense of the word." With the development of the system of parliamentary government, authority was transferred from the crown to the ministry, until now the leading principles of what the average American looks upon as the somewhat nebulous English constitution "are the personal irresponsibility of the sovereign, the responsibility of ministers, and the inquisitorial power of parliament." At the head of the cabinet is the premier or prime minister, another anomaly unknown to law and constitution and yet the pivot on which the whole administration turns. The prime minister is nominated by the sovereign. He appoints his colleagues and his resignation dissolves the ministry. "No prime minister could carry on the government of the country for any length of time who did not possess

the confidence of the House of Commons; and royal favour, if it was ever invidiously exercised, would ultimately have to yield to a regard for the public interests."

Although there was no ministry (and of course no prime minister) in the modern sense of the word prior to the reign of William III., from an early period we find mention of such an official. Thus, at the restoration of 1660, Edward Hyde, later and better known as the first earl of Clarendon, became the prime minister of Charles II. and held that position until 1667. "But there is an obvious distinction between the prime minister of a monarch under prerogative government and the premier of a modern cabinet. The one was simply known as the king's favourite, whose rise and fall depended solely upon his retaining the goodwill of his royal master, while the other is the acknowledged head of a responsible administration, whose tenure of office mainly depends upon his ability to obtain parliamentary support." William III. is entitled to the credit of forming the first administration upon the basis of party, of carrying on the government in accordance with the general political views of the house of commons, and thus of protecting the rights and liberties of English subjects for infringing which King James had forfeited his crown. Still William III. was really his own premier; he relied much less upon the advice of his cabinet than would now be expected of an English king. As the idea of personal government faded away, the office of prime minister took on added importance. After the accession of the non-English-speaking George I., the king ceased to sit in the cabinet and, when Walpole entered office in 1721, the several cabinet ministers were generally looked upon as equals. In his own person, Walpole created the prime ministership and thus gave to cabinet government the unity that earlier governments had possessed by reason of the presidency of the king. The change thus completed was of great importance. By it, the English constitution was "altered from an hereditary monarchy with a parliamentary regulative

agency to a parliamentary government with an hereditary regulative agency." Walpole had been the leading member of the cabinet from 1715 to 1717, and held the premiership from 1721 to 1742. After a short interval, he was succeeded by Henry Pelham, who held the office until his death in 1754. Pelham was a younger brother of the duke of Newcastle who, for thirty years, had been one of the secretaries of state, as will appear in the following list.

SECRETARIES OF STATE

(Not designated as "Northern" or "Southern" until 1702)

Under Charles II.

1660	Sir Edward Nicholas	Sir William Morrice
1662	Sir Henry Bennet (created earl of Arlington in 1665)	(Continued)
1668	(Continued)	Sir John Trevor
1672	(Continued)	Henry Coventry
1674	Sir Joseph Williamson	(Continued)
1678	Robert, earl of Sunderland	(Continued)
1680	(Continued)	Sir Leoline Jenkins
1681	Edward, Lord Conway	(Continued)
1683	Robert, earl of Sunderland	(Continued)
1684	(Continued)	Sidney Godolphin
1684	(Continued)	Charles, earl of Middleton

Under James II.

1685	Robert, earl of Sunderland (Continued)	Richard, Viscount Preston

Under William and Mary

1689	Charles, earl of Shrewsbury	Daniel, earl of Nottingham
1690	Henry, Viscount Sidney	(Continued)
1692	Sir John Trenchard	(Continued)
1694	(Continued)	Charles, earl of Shrewsbury

1696	Sir William Trumbull	(Continued)
1697	James Vernon	(Continued)
1700	Sir Charles Hedges	Edward, earl of Jersey
1701	(Continued)	Charles, earl of Manchester

Under Queen Anne

	Northern	Southern
1702	Sir Charles Hedges (Continued)	Daniel, earl of Nottingham
1704	(Continued)	Robert Harley (earl of Oxford)
1706	Charles, earl of Sunderland	(Continued)
1707	(Continued)	Henry Boyle (Lord Carleton)
1710	William, Lord Dartmouth	St. John (Lord Bolingbroke)
1713	William Bromley	(Continued)

Under George I.

	Northern	Southern
1714	James Stanhope (later earl)	Charles, Viscount Townshend
1716	Paul Methon (acting for Stanhope)	(Continued)
1717	Charles, earl of Sunderland	Joseph Addison
1718	James, Earl Stanhope	James Craggs
1721	Charles, Viscount Townshend	John, Lord Carteret
1723	Robert Walpole	(Continued)
1724	(Continued)	Thomas Pelham, duke of Newcastle

Under George II.

	Northern	Southern
1727	Charles, Viscount Townshend	Duke of Newcastle (continued)
1730	William, Lord Harrington	(Continued)
1742	John, Lord Carteret	(Continued)
1744	William, Lord Harrington	(Continued)

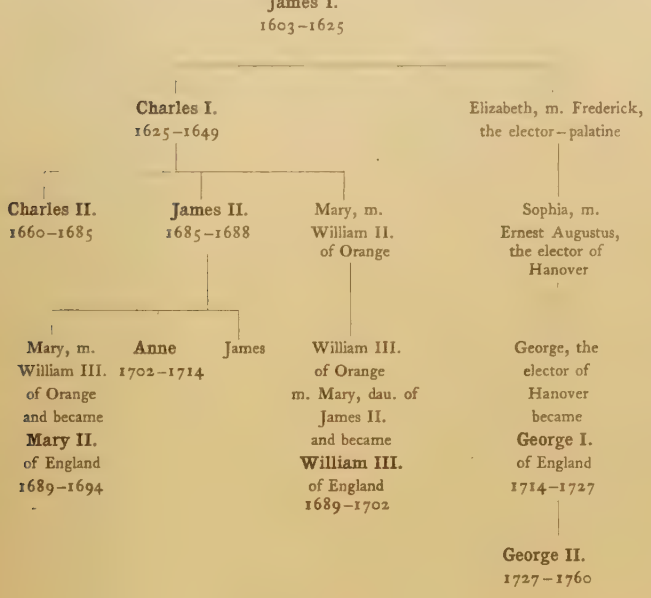
A BIT OF ENGLISH CHRONOLOGY

1660–1685	Charles II.	(Stuart)
1685–1688	James II.	(Stuart)
1689–1694	William and Mary	(Stuart)
1694–1702	William III.	(Stuart)
1702–1714	Anne	(Stuart)
1714–1727	George I.	(Hanover)
1727–1760	George II.	(Hanover)

1689–1697	King William's War	(Palatinate) Ended by Treaty of Ryswick
1702–1713	Queen Anne's War	(Spanish Succession) Ended by Treaty of Utrecht
1744–1748	King George's War	(Austrian Succession) Ended by Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle

GENEALOGICAL

(Names of English Monarchs are printed in **bold-face type.**)


James I.
1603–1625
Charles I.
1625–1649
Elizabeth, m. Frederick, the elector-palatine
Charles II.
1660–1685
James II.
1685–1688
Mary, m. William II. of Orange
Sophia, m. Ernest Augustus, the elector of Hanover
Mary, m. William III. of Orange and became Mary II. of England 1689–1694
Anne 1702–1714
James
William III. of Orange m. Mary, dau. of James II. and became William III. of England 1689–1702
George, the elector of Hanover became George I. of England 1714–1727
George II.
1727–1760

A History of the United States and its People

The Colonies: 1660–1745

CHAPTER I

CAROLINA

1663
1691

FROM the darkness that we have allowed to hang over the domain in which Ayllon stole Indian slaves and Ribault and Ralegh vainly planted, twin stars were emerging. As early as 1609, the Virginia settlements extended to the Nansemond River; in 1622, the fruitful lands on the Chowan River were explored and, in 1629, Charles I. granted to Sir Robert Heath lands south of Virginia, a domain five degrees of latitude in width and extending from sea to sea. This grant of Carolana remained a dead letter and, in 1663, the king in council ordered that the attorney-general proceed forthwith "in the revoking all former Letters patent and grants of the

Map of the South Atlantic Coast

Carolana

August 12–22

1662 1663 said Province." The Virginia assembly encouraged settlements in that region and, on the first of March, 1662, an Indian chief granted lands between the Chowan precinct and the sea to George Durant; "Durant's Neck" still holds its place in the geographies and gazetteers.

Proprietary Provinces

June 2, 1629

James I. had given the island of Barbados to the earl of Marlboro. Charles I. ignored the gift and included Barbados in a grant of all the Caribbean Islands to the earl of Carlisle. In 1629, came the Carolana grant; in 1632, the grant of Maryland to Lord Baltimore; and, in 1639, the grant of Maine to Sir Ferdinando Gorges. No charters were granted by Cromwell but the restoration brought its rewards for the faithful friends of royalty and the proprietary province became the favorite form of colonial establishment. In 1663, Charles II. gave to eight gentlemen about his court a county palatine extend-

The First Carolina Charter

Seal of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina

ing from "the north end of the Island called Lucke-Island, which lieth in the Southern Virginia Seas, and within six and thirty degres of the Northern Latitude and to the West as far as the South Seas, and so Southerly as far as the river St. Matthias [Saint Marys], which bordereth upon the coast of Florida, and within one and

March 24, 1662=April 3, 1663

thirty degrees of Northern Latitude, and so west in a direct line as far as the South Seas aforesaid." 1663 1664

The patentees who thus became proprietors and sovereigns, for it might almost be said that neither the rights of the crown nor the liberties of the people were withheld, were "our right trusty and right well beloved cousins and counsellors," the earl of Clarendon, the duke of Albemarle, William, Lord Craven, John, Lord Berkeley, and his younger brother Sir William Berkeley, then the governor of Virginia, Sir John Colleton, Sir George Carteret, and Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper, now better known as the earl of Shaftesbury. The Carolina Patentees

Edward Hyde had been a confidential counselor of Charles I. and the chief adviser of his son while the latter was in exile. In 1660, he became lord chancellor of England and prime minister of Charles II. In 1661, he became the first earl of Clarendon — a royal reward for fidelity. Lord Berkeley had been another faithful follower of the prince in exile. William Berkeley had held Virginia firm in loyalty to the house of Stuart while, for his treason to the commonwealth, General Monk had been created duke of Albemarle. The head and hand of the Carolina patentees was Anthony Ashley Cooper, the chancellor of the exchequer. The names of the king and his precious eight may be found upon the Carolina map today. Faithful Royalists

Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon

The proprietors soon authorized Sir William Berkeley to institute local government in the North Carolina region which took the name of Albemarle. These plantations were chiefly northeast of the river Chowan and, as the mouth of that river is north of the thirty-sixth parallel, they were not included in the Carolina patent. In 1664, William Drummond was appointed governor and an Albemarle assembly was instituted. This assem- Albemarle September 8, 1663

1664 1665 bly, probably the first in Carolina and often called the "grand assembly," met late in 1664 or early in 1665.

Clarendon August 25

In the summer of 1663, the proprietors offered certain "declarations and proposals" to planters who would settle in their territory. These "proposals" as well as the "concessions" of the seventh of January, 1665, were very liberal and especially democratic for the seventeenth century. The "concessions" contemplated the division of the province into eight counties, each to be named for one of the proprietors; the country from the Cape Fear to the Saint Johns River was called the county of Clarendon. Then several Barbados planters bought from the Indians a tract of land thirty-two miles square, up the Cape Fear River. John Yeamans, one of the planters, was knighted and made governor of this second Carolina colony. Yeamans led several hundred settlers from Barbados and began a town on the south bank of the river. By 1666, the plantation had a population of eight hundred. In the following year, most of the colonists abandoned the town.

January 11, 1664–65

The Second Carolina Charter

June 30–July 10, 1665

The Carolana charter of 1663 was granted before the formal forfeiture of the Carolana patent to Sir Robert Heath. After the annulling of that grant, the Carolina proprietors obtained another patent that crowded further both the Virginians and the Spanish. The new charter granted the territory from "the degrees of twenty-nine inclusive northern latitude" to a certain "streight westerly line . . . which lies within or about the degrees of thirty-six, and thirty minutes northern latitude, and so west in a direct line as far as the South-seas."

The Carolina Palatinate

With the soil went the sovereignty, limited by a mild allegiance to the crown. There were other differences between the grant of 1663 and that of 1665, but not enough to change the fact that the Carolina palatinate differed from that of Maryland chiefly in the number of proprietors. The favored eight might establish cities and counties, baronies and manors, and confer orders of nobility, provided they were unlike those used in England. They might levy war upon their enemies

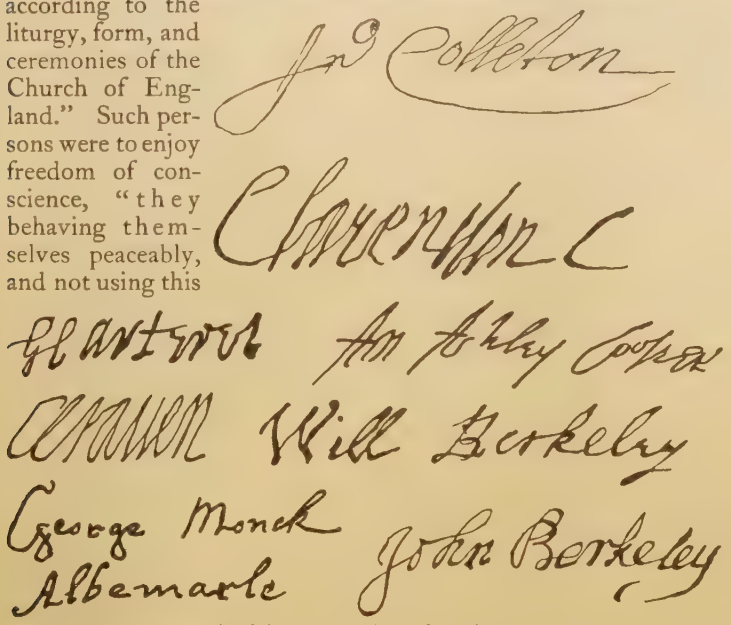
AMERICA SEPTENTRIONALIS.

Henry Popple's Map of North America, 1733

(Close facsimile of a colored copy of the original in the Library of Congress)

and do the several things therein implied. The patent contained a remarkable provision in favor of those who could not "conform to the public exercise of religion according to the liturgy, form, and ceremonies of the Church of England." Such persons were to enjoy freedom of conscience, "they behaving themselves peaceably, and not using this liberty to licentiousness, nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others." The way was clear for philosophy or fancy and Locke's "Grand Model" was constructed.

1665



Autographs of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina

John Locke

Lord Ashley could, with equal ease, flatter a crowd or court a king. He had the wisdom early to appreciate John Locke and became his patron and intimate friend. Locke became Ashley's political adherent and able helper. Careful student as he was of Bacon's analysis of nature and Descartes's analysis of thought, Locke adopted from tradition or framed in fancy notions which, by their absurdity, amaze as often as they fail to excite a smile.

1663–1669

The first set of "The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina" was finished in 1669. By these eighty-one articles, the eight proprietors were made a close corporation of hereditary sovereigns, "self-renewing and immortal." The last of this original set provided that these constitutions "and every part thereof, shall be and remain the sacred and unalterable form and rule of government of Carolina forever." Still, a second set, one hundred and twenty in number, was issued in 1670, and others followed until five sets had been framed. The code was repeatedly rejected and the formal consent of the settlers never was given. The contest was kept up until 1702. The discussions involved in the struggle cleared colonial ideas of political rights.

The Fundamental Constitutions July 21–31

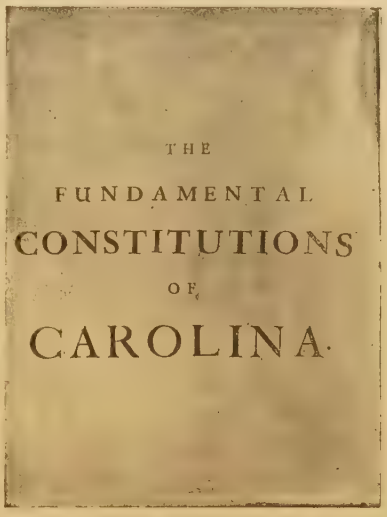
yr moſt humble ſervant
John Locke

March 1–11, 1669–70

Territory, Titles, and Villeinage

The provisions of the Carolina charter of 1663 present marked differences from those of the Rhode Island and the Connecticut charters granted about the same time, a good illustration of the easy disposition of the king. The Carolina constitutions magnified these differences.

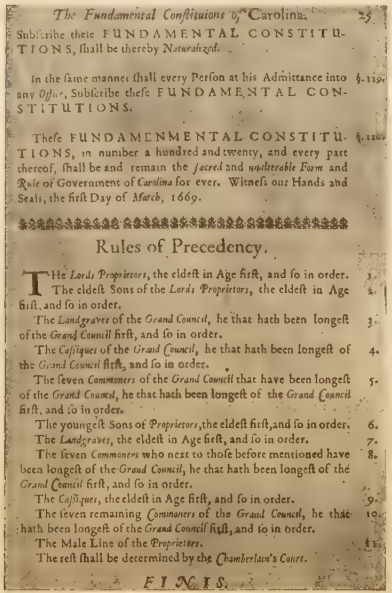
The eldest proprietor was to be palatine of the province — a king on a small scale. For his seven associates, seven high offices were provided. The territory was to be divided into counties and each county was to have one landgrave (Carolinian synonym for earl) and two caciques (i. e., barons). The legislative power was vested in a non-existent nobility and an uncreated landed aristocracy; the judiciary was placed beyond the reach of popular influence. Provision was made for the voluntary registry of leet-men or serfs — an intended revival of a moribund English institution. Leet-men and leet-women might not leave the lands of their leet-lords without license under hand and seal. All in all, Locke's fundamental constitutions, as an attempt to connect political power with hereditary rank and wealth, has no equal in American history. It was a crude expression of the reactionary sentiment of the English restoration. 1663 1669 A Wise Man's Folly


THE
FUNDAMENTAL
CONSTITUTIONS
OF
CAROLINA.

Half-title of Locke's *Fundamental Constitutions*

While Locke was building his grand model, the settlers of Albemarle were framing such regulations as they found themselves to need. Fresh emigrants came from New England and the Bermudas and soon there were settlements all along the north shore of the sound. The earlier haphazard methods of the patentees had given way to the general plan of the "concessions" of 1665. By the provisions of this document, each colony or county was to have its own "distinckt" government. In October, 1667, Samuel Growth and Government

1667 Stephens was commissioned as governor of Albemarle,
1669 successor to William Drummond, and a very simple form of government was put in operation. The executive consisted of the governor and a council. As the councilors were appointed by the governor, the independence of the latter was not seriously impaired by the nominal division of power. The assembly was composed of the governor, the council, and twelve delegates from the freeholders of the infant settlements. Drummond returned to Virginia where, in the next decade, he was hanged, as will be more fully told in the following chapter.



The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina. 23

Subscribe these FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS, shall be thereby *Naturalized*.

In the same manner shall every Person at his Admittance into any *Office*, Subscribe these FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS. §. 119.

These FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS, in number a hundred and twenty, and every part thereof, shall be and remain the *sacred* and *unalterable Form* and *Rule* of Government of *Carolina* for ever. Witness our Hands and Seals, the first Day of *March*, 1669. §. 120.

Rules of Precedency.

THE *Lords Proprietors*, the eldest in Age first, and so in order. 1.
The eldest Sons of the *Lords Proprietors*, the eldest in Age first, and so in order. 2.
The *Landgraves* of the *Grand Council*, he that hath been longest of the *Grand Council* first, and so in order. 3.
The *Cassiques* of the *Grand Council*, he that hath been longest of the *Grand Council* first, and so in order. 4.
The seven *Commoners* of the *Grand Council* that have been longest of the *Grand Council*, he that hath been longest of the *Grand Council* first, and so in order. 5.
The youngest Sons of *Proprietors*, the eldest first, and so in order. 6.
The *Landgraves*, the eldest in Age first, and so in order. 7.
The seven *Commoners* who next to those before mentioned have been longest of the *Grand Council*, he that hath been longest of the *Grand Council* first, and so in order. 8.
The *Cassiques*, the eldest in Age first, and so in order. 9.
The seven remaining *Commoners* of the *Grand Council*, he that hath been longest of the *Grand Council* first, and so in order. 10.
The Male Line of the *Proprietors*. 11.
The rest shall be determined by the *Chamberlain's Court*. 12.

FINIS.

Last Page of the *Fundamental Constitutions*, Containing Rules of Precedency

Debtors, Ministers, and Lawyers

In 1669, this government exempted new settlers from taxation for a year and granted lands to all who would live on them. Albemarle was made a refuge for absconding debtors and marriage became a civil contract easy of execution. Ministers were few and matrimony must be encouraged. Traffic with the Indians was restricted and a tax of thirty pounds of tobacco was assessed on every lawsuit, whereby revenue for the expenses of the governor and council was provided and needless litigation checked. These sufficient laws remained in effect for more than half a century.

Council and Legislature

In 1669, the patentees began their formal organization by the creation of the palatine's court. After that, the governor of Albemarle was the immediate representative

Map of Carolina in 1670

1669 1670 of the palatine. Each of the other proprietors had his resident deputy and the concurrence of at least three of these was necessary to give validity to executive action. For a time, there was an ordinary council consisting of five deputies of the proprietors and five members chosen by the legislative assembly but it was abolished in 1691, after which functions of administration devolved on the governor and the proprietary deputies. When the "grand model" was forwarded to Albemarle, it was rejected by the colonists; its enforcement seems hardly to have been seriously attempted. There was no room for a court of heraldry among the scattered cabins of this embryo North Carolina.

Discontent in Albemarle

In the meantime, the proprietors were making a direct attempt to plant a colony further south, of which more hereafter. Then came a time of general discontent in Albemarle. The navigation act was working mischief with the affections of the colonists just as it was all along the American seaboard. It was declared that the more aristocratic southern colony was being favored at the expense of the northern and rumored that Albemarle was to be turned over to the hated Sir William Berkeley as its sole proprietor. The recent grant of Virginia to Arlington and Culpeper was well known and gave color to the rumor of unwelcome annexation.

In the Fog

The colonial records of this period are very vague and the successive changes in governmental affairs are not to be traced with ease or certainty. The duke of Albemarle had been elected the first palatine in October, 1669. He having died, the Carolina proprietors held a meeting on the twentieth of the following January. "Lord Berkeley being the eldest in years of the surviving proprietors succeeded him [Albemarle] and was admitted the second pallatin of Carolina." The record of this meeting shows that the new palatine "commissionated Samuell Stephens to be his Deputy and Governor of Albemarle." It is probable that, for part of 1670 at least, Peter Carteret acted as governor of Albemarle under the first palatine and that he was superseded by

January 30, 1670, n. s.

the second palatine's appointment of Stephens, as above recorded. At all events, Carteret's official term was short and Stephens came again into the chief magistracy. In this waste of uncertainty is one solid fact — there were a rapidly changing succession of governors or acting governors and a kaleidoscopic political drama, largely comedy and farce. 1670 1677

In 1676, the Albemarle assembly sent its speaker, Thomas Eastchurch, to England to seek redress for grievances. Thomas Miller, who had been charged with sedition in Carolina and carried to Virginia for trial, also went to demand satisfaction for his wrongs. The proprietors promised not to part with Albemarle and appointed Eastchurch governor. Miller was made Shaftesbury's Carolina deputy and secretary of the province and received from the crown a commission as collector of the customs. The new governor and the secretary sailed together for Carolina but stopped at the West Indies on the way. Here Eastchurch fell in love and lingered and deputed Miller to rule for him at Albemarle. Miller reached the province in July, 1677, to enter upon the duties of his triple office as governor, secretary, and collector. Cupid

Sir George Carteret

Miller found at Albemarle a motley population of planters, New England traders, and Virginia fugitives whom the suppression of Bacon's rebellion had driven from the Old Dominion. Carolina had refused to give up the "runaways, rogues, and rebels" at Virginia's demand. Cupidity

1677–1689 Miller tried to enforce the navigation acts and from the commerce of the colony wrung an annual revenue equivalent to twelve thousand dollars. The enormous burden hastened an insurrection under the leadership of John Culpeper, a demagogical surveyor-general who had fled northward from the hangman at Charles Town. The governor and council were imprisoned, a new government was organized, and money that Miller had collected for the king was seized.

Sothell in Albemarle

Then came a decade of chronic insurrection in which the leading part was played by Seth Sothell who, having become one of the proprietors by purchase from Lord Clarendon, had been commissioned as governor of Albemarle. On his outward journey, Governor Sothell was captured by the Turks and taken to Algiers. He escaped from captivity and reached the colony in 1683. It would have been better for the colonists and the proprietors had the Turks kept better watch. After five years' endurance of Sothell's misrule, the colonists

1688 wrought his bloodless deposition and again appealed to the proprietors, who appointed Colonel Philip Ludwell in

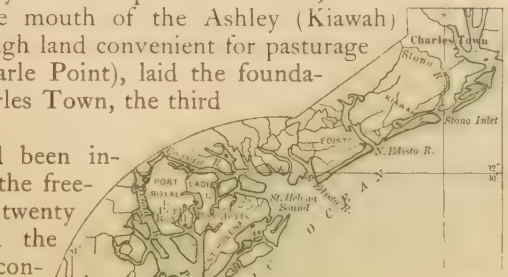
1689 Sothell's place until the matter could be investigated. Sothell suddenly appeared in southern Carolina just in time to take the lead in a ripening revolution.

Old Charles Town January, 1665

Soon after they had commissioned Sir John Yeamans as governor of Clarendon, the proprietors began preparations for planting a new colony. By August, 1669, they had three ships with emigrants and stores ready to sail from England. Joseph West was commissioned as governor and commander-in-chief until the arrival of the fleet at Barbados. In October, Sir John Yeamans wrote, in a commission that had been sent to him in blank for that purpose, the name of William Sayle as governor of the new colony. After serious maritime disasters, the

February 26, 1670, o. s. emigrants moved on to Port Royal. In March, their remaining boats rode the waters where Ayllon's ships and Ribault's fleet had anchored years before. Here the colonists chose five "freemen" members of the council, five others being named by the proprietors. The

Spaniards were not far distant and the beautiful bay was easily accessible from the sea; the governor and council thought it prudent to seek another site for their settlement. In April, they moved up the coast and, about three miles from the mouth of the Ashley (Kiawah) River at "the first high land convenient for pasturage and tillage" (Albemarle Point), laid the foundations of the first Charles Town, the third Carolina colony. 1670



The Division of Carolina

Map of Port Royal and Vicinity

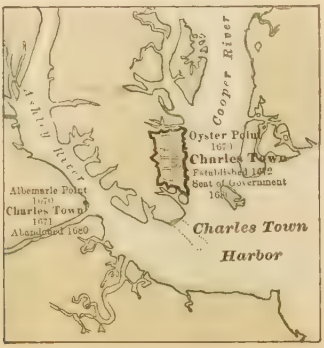
The governor had been instructed to summon the freeholders to choose twenty persons who, with the deputies, were to constitute a parliament, but the paucity of the people and the want of landgraves and caciques made it impossible to put the grand model into practice. So, in spite of the efforts of the earliest strict constructionist party of South Carolina, the governor and council governed by "instructions" from the proprietors. John Locke, James Carteret, and Sir John Yeamans were made landgraves but, from the beginning, there was a political feud between the proprietors and the people. Although the province was not authoritatively divided until 1729, its people had already practically divided it into North and South Carolina, and it is best that we should begin to call them so.

The First Negro Slaves

Governor Sayle did not live long; upon his death-bed, he nominated Joseph West to act in his stead until the proprietary pleasure could be ascertained. In the summer of 1671, Sir John Yeamans came to live at Charles Town, bringing the first negro slaves into the colony. The blacks soon outnumbered the whites two to one, a ratio that had no parallel north of the West Indies. In 1672, four of the eight proprietors were members of the Royal African company of England of which James, the

1671 duke of York, was the head. This association of Ashley,
1672 Craven, Carteret, and Colleton with the slave trade has a peculiar significance when it is remembered that the fundamental constitutions assumed the existence of negro slavery in Carolina several years before the first importation was made.

Yeamans Succeeds West



Map of Charles Town Harbor

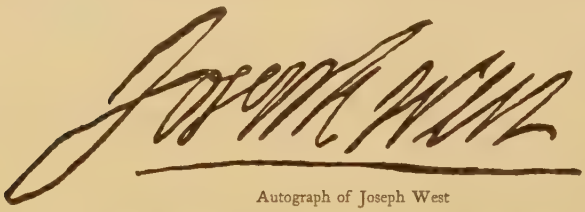
Before the death of Governor Sayle, it had been reported that the proprietors would appoint Sir John Yeamans as governor. "The people did not incline to salute him [Yeamans] Governor," and West reported to Lord Ashley that the hint "doth breed a very great dissatisfaction."

August 21, 1671
December 16

But the appointment was made as foreshadowed and Lord Ashley wrote to West that the change was due not to any dissatisfaction with him but because the nature of the government required that a landgrave should be preferred to any commoner. The new governor was proclaimed at Charles Town on the nineteenth of April, 1672, and the freemen were summoned to elect a new parliament on the following day.

West Succeeds Yeamans

The new administration took up the important work of surveying the granted lands, making records thereof, and laying out a town on the site of the present Charleston. The proprietors complained of the expense and soon heard of Yeamans's attempt to grasp the government before he had received his commission. Lord Ashley, now the earl of Shaftesbury, sent a "masterpiece of



Autograph of Joseph West

April 23, 1672

composition" in remonstrance and rebuke. In the meantime, West was made a cacique and continued in the employ of the proprietors. Before long, they issued a governor's commission to West "as the fittest man for this trust." When, a few weeks later, they forwarded the commission, they sent with it a patent as landgrave. Yeamans had already taken himself in feeble health and robust estate back to Barbados where he died in August. 1672

April 25, 1674

May 18

Anthony Ashley Cooper

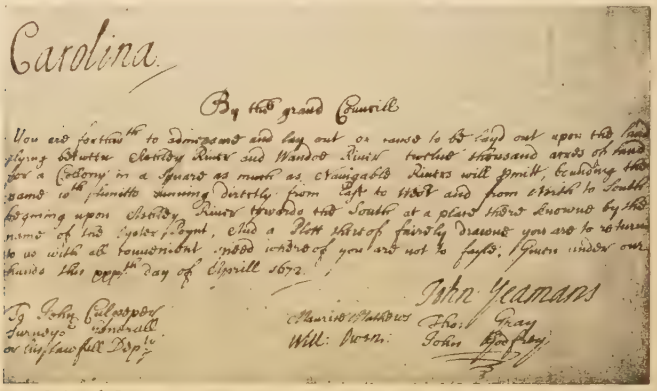
In 1672, the proprietors had authorized a random scattering of titles and hereditary rights; whoever furnished Carolina with six hundred men should be a landgrave. The few emigrants sent out were, for the greater part, ill fitted for successful pioneers and the colony kept up a steady drain upon the treasury of the discontented proprietors. But West was moderate and wise and the condition of affairs was soon changed for the better. When confidence was established, emigrants were willing to go at their own expense and men of estate to venture. When New Netherland fell, many Dutch colonists moved thence to South Carolina; their prosperity there led many of their race from the Old World to the New. Huguenots sought there a refuge from persecution as they had done in Coligny's time and infused some of their peculiarly emotional temperament into South

Dutch and French Accessions

1672 Carolinian character. The names of some of their
1680 descendants are inseparably connected with American history.

A New Charles Town

The point of land between the two rivers that, in honor of Shaftesbury, were named the Ashley and the Cooper was known as Oyster Point. It was soon seen



Carolina.

By the grand Councill

You are forthwth to demesure and lay out or cause to be laid out upon the [illegible] lying betwixt Stanley River and Wando River twelve thousand acres of land for a Colony in a Square as much as Navigable Rivers will permit, excluding the same to be limitted running directly from East to West and from North to South beginning upon Stanley River towards the South at a place there known by the name of the Oyster point, and a Plat thereof fairly drawne you are to returne to us with all convenient speed whereof you are not to fayle. Given under our hands this 30th day of Aprill 1672.

John Yeamans

To John Culpeper Surveyor Generall of his Lawfull Dep[ty]

Maurice Matthews Thos Gray Will: Owen John Godfrey

Order of Governor and Council to lay out Charles Town, dated April 30, 1672

that old Charles Town was too far up-stream and

April 30, 1672

Surveyor-general Culpeper was ordered to lay out a town at Oyster Point. Broad streets were laid out with regularity, sites for town-house, wharves, and other public uses were reserved, and, on the corner where now stands Saint Michael's, Saint Philip's church was soon built. The new town grew rapidly and became the chief colonial port. In 1680, the old town was formally abandoned as the seat of government. The new provincial capital was known as Charles Town or Charlestown until after the Revolution.

Indian Relations

The fundamental constitutions committed to the grand council the power "to make peace and war, leagues and treaties with any of the neighboring Indians." Acting under this constitutional authority, the council had already declared war against the tribesmen. The governor was an able leader and the colonists were well armed. Indian captives were sold into West Indian bondage to provide

means for carrying on the war, and the red barbarians soon were glad to make terms. When, in violation of the treaty of peace, the profitable traffic was continued and the proprietors forbade the kidnapping, the governor and his council openly ignored the prohibition. Then the proprietors traded a few glittering trinkets and bright-colored cloths and ribbons for land tenures that reached as far as the Appalachian Mountains. As the grantor caciques occupied only the lowland country while the northwest portion of the province was possessed by the powerful Cherokees, "the chief value of the deeds was as a color of title against other possible European claimants." 1680 1682

South Carolina Prospers

No proprietary policy was more energetic and successful than that which gave reality and importance to town life and prevented the Carolina settlers from establishing scattered plantations as they did in Virginia. The tide of emigration still was strong and Charles Town attained a degree of importance and completeness unknown in any other city of the southern colonies. The proprietary advertisements gave pleasing accounts of the healthfulness of the country and the progress of the colony. The winters were so mild that there was no need of providing fodder and the proprietary rent for lands was so small that "an ox was raised with almost as little expense in Carolina as a hen is in England." Living was cheap, soil productive, and wild game plenty. Governor West "was distinguished for his piety as well as for his justice and moderation," but he exported Indian slaves purchased from the neighboring Indian tribes. This interference with what they considered one of their own perquisites gave offense to the proprietors and, for this and for another reason soon to be mentioned, they resolved to depose him.

Scottish Accessions

The breaking out of a "Popish terror" in England and the possibility of the accession of a Roman Catholic to the throne caused many influential nonconformists to turn their thoughts westward. For their encouragement, the Carolina proprietors announced several modifications of the fundamental constitutions. A few months

May 10, 1682

1682 later, another set was sent out "at the request of certain
1683 Scots and other considerable persons." To each set, the people were solemnly required to subscribe; to neither of them was any recognition subsequently given. Among the leaders of these migrating English dissenters was Joseph Morton. Five hundred such immigrants arrived in Carolina in a single month and in two years the population of the colony was doubled. Chiefly to encourage this important movement, Morton was made a landgrave in 1681 and commissioned governor on the eighteenth of May, 1682.

George Monk, Duke of Albemarle

Nullification

In May, 1682, the proprietors had divided South Carolina into three counties. Craven County joined Berkeley County on the north and Colleton County on the south. Hitherto the twenty members of the parliament had been chosen by election held at the provincial capital, but the proprietors now ordered that elections should be held on the same day in Berkeley and in Colleton counties, each to choose ten members. Craven County was so sparsely settled that it was given no representation. The provision of an additional voting-place was a convenience, but the assignment of as many deputies to Colleton as to the more populous Berkeley was unfair. It is not certain that Morton had received these instructions when he convoked the assembly but the election was held at Charles Town as usual. To allow the proprietors to change the election precincts and to make the apportionment of representatives was incon-

September, 1683

sistent with popular government and the germ of nullification was in Charles Town ahead of the proprietary decree. 1683

About the time that the new parliament assembled at Charles Town, the proprietors wrote to Governor Morton repeating their instructions and directing that, if the election had been held at Charles Town only, the parliament should be dissolved and a new election ordered. When this letter was received by the governor, the legislature was dissolved. In April, 1684, the proprietors removed Morton and appointed Sir Richard Kyrle of Ireland in his place. Kyrle died within a few months after his arrival in the country and the council again chose Joseph West. As West was absent from the province, the second choice of the council fell upon Robert Quarry, the secretary of the province. Quarry, of whom we shall hear more in later chapters, was soon charged with harboring pirates. Although the truth of the charge is still denied, the proprietors issued a commission to Joseph West. In the following September, West resumed the office that two years before he had resigned to Morton.

A Gubernatorial Kaleidoscope

Henry Morgan

September 1, 1684

March 12, 1684= March 22, 1685

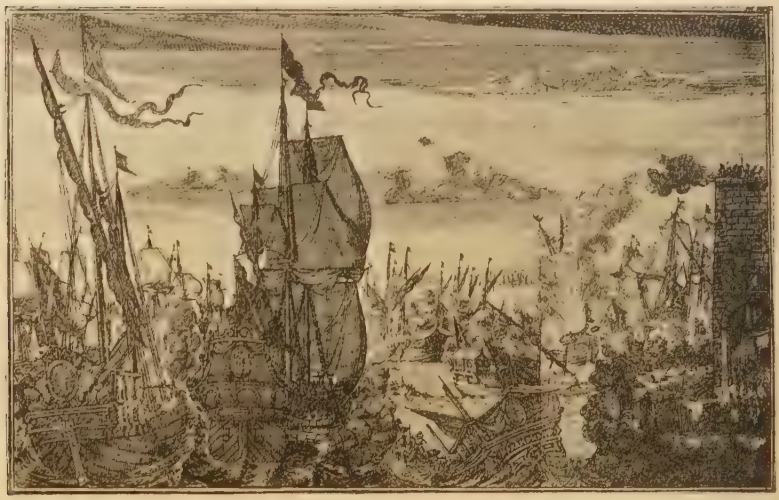
A Pirate Admiral

At this time, navies were but feebly nationalized and the line of separation between privateering and piracy was not clearly cut. The most famous of the seventeenth century successors of Drake and Ralegh was Henry Morgan, who gathered

1682 a fleet of nearly twoscore sail, captured forts, pillaged towns, bore off prisoners by the hundred and piastres by the million:

> Stripped the church and monastery,
> Racked the prior for his gold,
> With the traders' wives made merry,
> Lipped the young and mocked the old.

The self-styled "admiral" was called to England to answer the complaints of the Spanish court and, through



Morgan's Destruction of the Spanish Armada at Maracaibo

the royal whim, became Sir Henry Morgan and deputy-governor of Jamaica where he married and "ended his days in peace."

Piracy and Profit

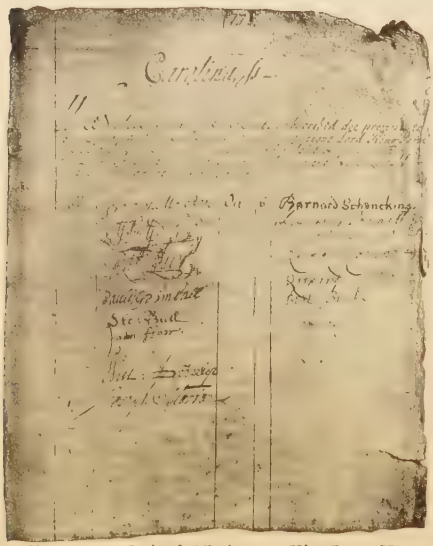
Carolina was settled just when bucaneering was at the height of its power. The inlets on the Carolina coast afforded to these adventurers a safe refuge from pursuit and convenient snug harbors in which to strip their prizes, to repair and refit their craft, to plan their infamous schemes, and possibly to bury their ill-gotten treasures. Charles Town was a convenient market and the pirates were profitable customers. The statement of

John Fiske and other historians that at Charles Town the bucaneers found an open port and a hearty welcome is vigorously denied by later historical writers of South Carolina, one of whom informs me that "hundreds of records in South Carolina prove [said reports] to be absolutely false." 1682 1685

Engraved Title-page of the first Dutch Edition of Esquemeling, 1678

Exit Governor West

Governor West now found himself surrounded by political difficulties of increased severity. The inhabitants of Berkeley County were warmly opposed to the injustice of the parliamentary apportionment. The first fundamental constitutions had provided for the tenure of land for the rental of a penny an acre "or the value thereof." When, in clear violation of the contract, payment of quit-rent in money was demanded and the settlers urged that money was scarce and proffered the merchantable produce of the land, the proprietors replied, "We insist to sell our lands in our own way." When the proprietors ordered that the third set of the fundamental constitutions should be put in practice, even the grand council protested. Recognizing the impossibility of obeying his instructions without incurring the enmity of the colonists, Governor West became disheartened and gave up his office. The council chose Morton as governor and, in September, 1685, the proprietors sent him a commission.

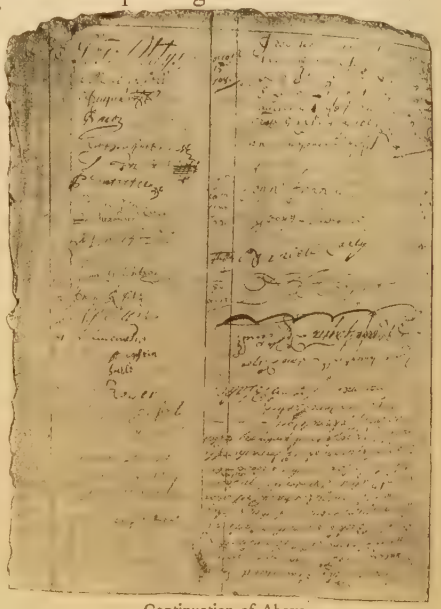


Signatures to Oath of Allegiance to King James II. and the Lords Proprietors, 1685

Morton's second administration was short and lively. Of the twenty commoners who were members of the parliament that assembled in November, 1685, one was absent and twelve refused to subscribe to the fundamental constitutions. Morton turned the twelve out of doors, leaving the other seven representatives of the people and the five deputies of the proprietors to enact all the legislation of the session. The next important event was the arrival of George Muschamp, the first collector of the king's revenue and the special guardian of the navi-

1685 Muschamp—A King's Collector

gation act of Charles II. As the Carolina charter was granted subsequently to the passage of the act in question, the Carolina colonists—strict constructionists even then—assumed that the charter superseded the statute, disregarded the king's collector, and traded as they pleased, just as they would have

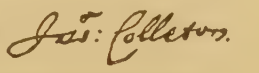


Continuation of Above

done had the pretext not been found. James II. had already been proclaimed, the suppression of the proprietary governments had been determined upon and proceedings were then pending against the Massachusetts charter. The action of the Carolina colonists therefore agitated the proprietors, but the expected storm did not come. 1683 1686

In 1683, a Scotch colony of persecuted Presbyterians, led by Lord Cardross, made at Port Royal a settlement known as Stuart Town. At that time, Claverhouse was enforcing in England the penal laws against Covenanters and making his name odious. The Presbyterian pilgrims had heard of Port Royal's excellent harbor but they did not sufficiently consider its nearness to Saint Augustine. In spite of the protection thus provided, the Charles Town authorities received the Scotch exiles with little favor. Discouraged by discourtesies, Lord Cardross soon went back to Scotland — the end of a grand scheme for planting ten thousand sturdy Covenanters in Carolina. Cardross at Port Royal

In the summer of 1686, three Spanish galleys suddenly appeared off Port Royal; in time of nominal peace, the Scottish settlement was laid waste. Many of the immigrants were killed, some returned to Scotland, and others mingled with the planters of the counties further north. The Carolinians resolved to carry the war into Florida. The provincial parliament approved and aided the bold project. Two vessels were about to sail with four hundred men for an attack on Saint Augustine when James Colleton arrived at Charles Town as governor of South Carolina. As Colleton threatened to hang any one who persisted in the project, the provincial expedition was given up. The Devastating Spaniard



Autograph of James Colleton

After the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685, "Carolina became a general rendezvous for French Protestants." While a majority of the settlers were dissenters from the doctrine and authority of the Anglican church, many adherents to the royal cause had come to Carolina. As these cavaliers were generally preferred by Dissent and Division

1686 the proprietors for offices of authority and trust, the seeds of strife began not only to spring up but to grow rank. One party stood in support of the proprietors' prerogative; the other in defense of the people's rights. One contended for implicit obedience to the laws received

Morden's Map of Carolina, 1687

from England; the other insisted that the colonists were under obligation to observe such laws only so far as they were consistent with their interests and the prosperity of the province. With this double division between cavaliers and dissenters and between colonists and proprietors, no governor could long support his authority. Governor

followed governor in rapid succession, no one holding office long enough to accomplish much for good or ill. 1686 1690

Colleton and His Troubles

Although the new chief magistrate was a landgrave and a brother of one of the proprietors, his career in South Carolina was unhappy. The proprietors commended his suppression of the projected expedition against Saint Augustine, but the people were indignant. Before this excitement had died out, the king's collector seized a vessel for violating the navigation act, the charge being that four-fifths of the crew were Scottish and not English. The local court released the vessel and the matter was referred to Powis, the attorney-general of England. In the report of that official the proprietors thought they saw a hint of danger to their charter. At the same time, the more vigorously Colleton exerted his authority, the more turbulent and riotous the people became.

April, 1687

An Incipient Rebellion

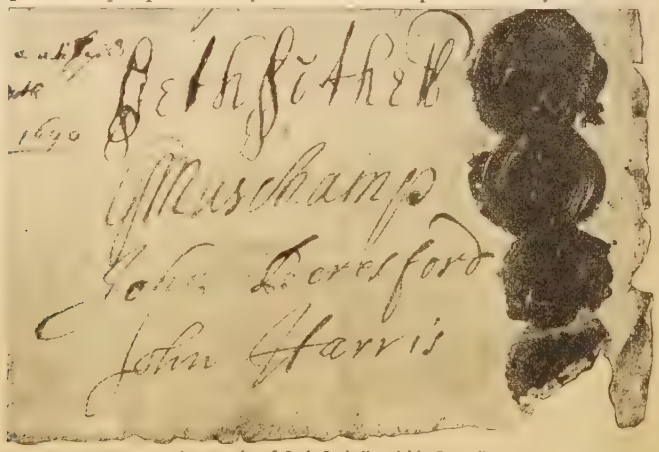
A parliament was called in the fall of 1686. At that time, says Oldmixon, factions were "as rampant as if the people had been made wanton by many ages of prosperity." The South Carolina representatives defiantly rejected the revised fundamental constitutions, unanimously declared that the government must be directed solely according to the charters, and denied "that any bill must necessarily pass the grand council before it can be read in parliament." For this downright insubordination, the governor turned them out of doors in true Cromwellian fashion, much as Morton had done in 1685. When, in 1687, a new parliament was called, it proved more intractable than its predecessor. As the deputies insisted on proceeding according to the fundamental constitutions, a procedure that the delegates would not tolerate, a legislative deadlock ensued. So violent was the contention that for two years or more no laws were passed. As the operation of the laws was limited to twenty-three months, there was, in 1690, not one statute law in force in South Carolina. When Colleton attempted to collect arrears of quit-rents, the Carolina parliament imprisoned the provincial secretary, seized the records, and defied the governor. Colleton declared

A Helpless Governor

1690 martial law, but dissatisfaction was general, the militia was
1691 unavailable, the governor was helpless.

Sothell in South Carolina

For the overthrow of parliamentary government in South Carolina, the great need was a leader. At this crucial moment, Seth Sothell was freed from his Albemarle engagements by a decree of banishment. As one of the Carolina proprietors, he claimed the right to act as governor at Charles Town, a claim that was well supported by his certificate of September, 1681, and the clause from the fundamental constitutions therein quoted. The colonists had never recognized the fundamental constitutions but, as the "unalterable" laws served their present purpose, they waived the point; only with ill



Autographs of Seth Sothell and his Council

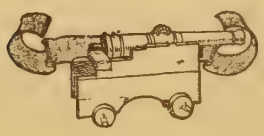
December, 1690

grace could the proprietors offer an objection. Having seized the South Carolina government, Sothell assembled a parliament of his adherents. In 1691, Colleton and many of his council and supporters were disfranchised and banished from South Carolina. "A queer spectacle it was, the victim of one popular revolution becoming the ringleader of another!" Sothell filled his coffers by widespread confiscations and "oppression extended her iron rod over the distracted colony." Meanwhile, the middle

Carolina colony had been dwindling and, in 1690, Clarendon was abandoned. 1690 1691

The Social Foundation

In Barbados, a social order had been built upon the basis of negro slavery. Thence Sir John Yeamans brought the first negro slaves into South Carolina. Many of the earliest settlers came from the same little island bringing with them a fully developed colonial society that exerted a dominating influence upon that of Charles Town and therefore upon that of the province. So many negro slaves were imported that few white servants came of their own accord and, to this day, it is a matter of local pride that "fewer criminals were sent to Carolina than to other colonies." In 1691, the first slave code of South Carolina was enacted, closely following regulations lately enacted in Barbados. The worst feature of the code lay in the provisions that practically placed the life and death of the slave in the hands of the master without any protection for the black except such as arose from the interest of his owner. South Carolinians still point us to the fact that the penal codes under which white men then lived in England were scarcely less harsh.



CHAPTER II

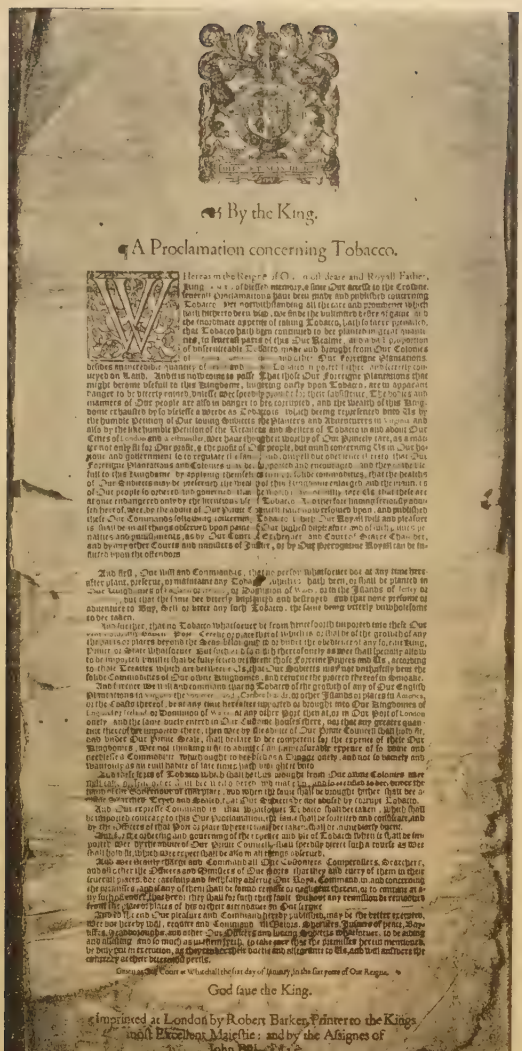
VIRGINIA — BACON'S REBELLION

1676
1691
An Oppressed People

WE left the Old Dominion in peril of insurrection; Governor Berkeley was driving even cavaliers into opposition. Virginia had no printing-press but Virginians knew, from personal experience and court-day gossip, that they were exorbitantly taxed for the benefit of a few, that Berkeley and his friends were growing richer, that there was little use in an appeal to England, and (no trivial consideration) that the governor was "old and hard of hearing, and was, moreover, married to a young wife who was believed to be the very devil of the whole situation." Added to these home-made burdens were the lease of Virginia to Culpeper and Arlington, an injustice to settlers who in good faith had purchased lands, and the English navigation acts that were devouring the substance of the planters. In 1667, Virginia tobacco sold for a halfpenny per pound. European commodities had to be brought in by way of England and prices were arbitrarily high. The Virginia candle was burning at both ends for the profit of about forty English merchants. To these provocations now were added the horrors of Indian massacre.

Indian Depredations 1645–1675

For thirty years, the Virginia Indians had been peaceful and the beaver trade had been profitable. About this time, the Iroquois drove the Susquehannas southward along both sides of the Potomac. Disputes and depredations followed and, in the summer of 1675, the



By the King.

A Proclamation concerning Tobacco.

Whereas We be Keepers of Our royall Oathe and Royall Father, King [illegible] ablished memory, a time Our Subiects in the Realme of Ireland, Plantations have been made and published concerning Tobacco, Yet notwithstanding all the care and providence which hath been vsed to them, We finde the multitude of the Abuses to be so great and the enormous exportes of raising Tobacco, hath so farre preuailed, that Tobacco hath been continued to be planted in great quantities, to the hurt of great parte of this Our Realme, and the vnprofitable employment of vnsetleable Tobacco made and brought from Our Colonies of [illegible] and other Our Foreigne Plantations brideth manifestable vsanny of [illegible] Tobacco is in part fitter for Swine to be vsed then Man, And this not withstanding it is [illegible] That those Our Foreigne plantations that might become vsefull to this Kingdome, lingering only vpon Tobacco, are in apparant danger to be vtterly ruined, vnlesse some speedy remedy be by Our Authority prouided. Especially since many manners of Our people are also in danger to be corrupted, and the Quality of this Kingdome is thereby so much [illegible] as where as Corporate Townes being erected from Us by the humble Petitions of Our loving Subiects the Planters and Aduenturers in Virginia and also by the like humble Petition of the Merchants and Setters of Tobacco in and about Our Cities of London and [illegible] Our thoughts of Our Princely care, as a matter not only fit for Our State, & the profit of Our people, but much concerning Us in Our honour and gouernment to be regulated and [illegible] Our Foreigne Plantations and Colonies may be [illegible] and encouraged, And Our Subiects fully to this Kingdome by applying themselues to [illegible] Tobacco, the healths of Our Subiects may be preserued, the true profit [illegible] Our people, and the reuenue of Our Crowne increased: Wee haue [illegible] Tobacco, Wee doe publish and declare at our re-hearing our princely resolution vpon and publish these Our Commands following, viz. That Tobacco [illegible] Our Royall will and pleasure is, that be in all things obserued vpon paine [illegible] Our Royall displeasure and of such other pains or paines and punishments, as by Our Courts of Starre Chamber and Counsell Table Chamber, and by any other Courts and meanes of Iustice, or by Our Prerogatiue Royall can be inflicted vpon the offenders.

And first, Our will and Commandes, that no person whatsoeuer doe at any time hereafter plant, preserue, or maintaine any Tobacco [illegible] hath been, or shall be planted in Our Kingdomes of [illegible] or Dominion of Wales, or in the Islands of Iersey or [illegible] but that the same be vtterly vnplanted and destroyed: and that none presume or adventure to buy, sell or barter any such Tobacco, the same being vtterly vnwholesome to be taken.

And further, that no Tobacco whatsoeuer be from hence forth imported into these Our [illegible] Kingdomes, Free Cities or generall of Ireland or [illegible] of the greatest of any of the parts or places beyond the Seas, [illegible] to be vttered or sold in any of Our Kingdomes, Power or Seruice whatsoeuer, but such onely as shall from time to time expressly be allowed to be imported and vttered by those Former Priuiledges and Us, according to those Treaties which are betweene Us, that Our Subiects may not be thereby brought to the [illegible] Commodities of Our other Kingdomes, and remain the poorer & lesse able.

And therefore We will and command that any Tobacco of the growth of any of Our English Plantations in [illegible] Caribee Islands, or other Islands or places in America, or the Coasts thereof, be at any time hereafter imported or brought into Our Kingdomes of England, Ireland or Dominion of Wales, or any other Port then also in Our Port of London only, and the same duely entred in Our Custome houses there, and that any greater quantities thereof be imported then, then the Officers of Our Custome House of Our Port of London shall haue power, and hereby Our Pleasure is, that they be competent for the expence of their Our Kingdomes, We will [illegible] to abate [illegible] reasonable expence of so many and necessarie a Commodity: Prouided nought to be [illegible] Dunge only, and not to warehe and wantonnesse as in time past it hath [illegible]

And likewise that of Tobacco which shall be [illegible] from Our owne Colonies where all such English subiects as will be [illegible] may [illegible] and to or [illegible] to her, vnder the [illegible] Gouernour or Gouernours, who when the same shall be brought hither shall be accountable to Our Treasurer and Barons of Our Exchequer for [illegible] by custome [illegible]

And also Our expresse Command is that Tobacco shall be taken [illegible] which shall be shipped to come to this Our Dominions, [illegible] and shall be sufficient and certificate, and by the Officers of that Port or place where it is [illegible] shall be duely entred.

And [illegible] gouerning of the exporter and vse of Tobacco hereby is [illegible] be vnderstood concerning this Our Proclamation, that it

1676 Virginia and Maryland militia pursued and punished "the heathen." A score or more of the Indians were killed, some of them in disregard of a flag of truce, and others escaped to the mountains. One night in January, 1676, nearly twoscore whites were murdered in the upper settlements. Lieutenant-governor Chicheley prepared to take the field with a force of five hundred men. At the moment of its departure, the force was disbanded by the governor. Berkeley's action was unaccountable to the people except on the ground of self-interest, for he held the profitable monopoly of the Indian traffic. In his account of the troubles in Virginia, Nathaniel Bacon says that the governor "granted licenses to others to trade wth y^{m} for w^{ch} hee had every 3rd skinne." The exasperated populace declared that if the governor would not defend them they would defend themselves.

Berkeley Refuses to Take Action

While the King Philip war was raging in New England, the Susquehannas and their allies were doing bloody work along the Rappahannock and the James. In seventeen days, one parish was reduced from seventy-one plantations to eleven. In March, 1676, the Virginian assembly met; it "was the old and rotten one chosen fourteen years before," and it continued to do "what the governor desired and what the people detested." The settlers vainly begged the governor to appoint a commander to lead them against the foe. When they heard that a large body of Indians was within fifty miles of the plantations, the citizens of Charles City County beat their drums for volunteers. Here is a cause; this is the time; *where is the leader?*

A Leader Wanted

Nathaniel Bacon

Nathaniel Bacon had been nursed in the fierce strifes of the Cromwellian era. His address was pleasing and his speech was eloquent. At the age of about twenty-six, he came with wealth of worldly goods to make Virginia his home. He had an estate at Curles, just below the old city of Henricus, and another at Bacon

Autograph of Nathaniel Bacon

Quarter Branch, a small stream within the suburbs of the present city of Richmond. In spite of his youth and recent coming, he was soon honored with a seat in the colonial council, of which his second cousin, Nathaniel Bacon the elder, had long been a member. Although he had never seen a hostile Indian, the younger Bacon's neighbors repeatedly sought for him a commission to lead them against the Indians but no commission came. In the spring of 1676, when Bacon had been in Virginia less than three years, the Indians killed three servants of his neighbor, Captain Byrd, one of his own servants, and the overseer of his upper estate. Bacon swore vengeance for the murders and resolved to march against the Indians with or without a commission. 1676

General Bacon

As a leader, Bacon was distinctively of the frontier type — passionate, forceful, wilful — the avant-courier of Sevier, Robertson, and Jackson. He was now persuaded, perhaps easily, to cross the James River to see the volunteers assembled on the other side. As he came near, they, after the old English fashion, set up a sudden shout, "A Bacon, a Bacon!" Elected thus by acclamation, he consented to lead in the defense of threatened homes and in the recovery of lost liberties. The three hundred volunteers wrote their names in a round-robin and took an oath to stick fast to one another and to him. They sent once more to Berkeley for a commission and gave notice that if it did not come by a specified day they would march without it. The day but no commission came. Bacon was as good as his word and the expedition moved. He was at once proclaimed a rebel, a price was set upon his head, and they who followed him were put under ban.

Cæsar Crosses the Rubicon

Berkeley had not forgotten the rebellion in England thirty years before. He seems to have recognized that that was but the prototype of this, that Bacon was a transplanted Cromwell. He therefore quickly raised a force and set out in pursuit. Bacon says that "with about 70 men onely w^{ch} engaged and stood by me (y^{e} service being too hott for y^{e} rest) wee fell upon a town

1676 of y^e^ Indians consisting of 3 forts strongly mann'd. . . . Their king making a sally was killed w^th^ most of his men, soe y^t^ wee reckned, wee destroyed about 100 men and 2 of their kings, besides women & children." The fight, which lasted nearly a night and a day, was on an island in the Roanoke River, near Clarkesville, Mecklenberg County. Mrs. Bacon wrote: "Never was such a victory known in Virginia before." Thinking that the Indian troubles were ended, the volunteers quickly dispersed. Berkeley and his gentlemen had not had the stomach to follow the "rebels" into the Indian country

May 10 but the governor issued another proclamation and deposed Bacon from the council and from his office as magistrate. So far as Virginia is concerned, the next twenty weeks with Bacon make richer history than twenty years of the English commonwealth and of the restoration.

Berkeley Arrests Bacon

When Berkeley left his capital to follow Bacon, the lower counties rose in arms and demanded the immediate dissolution of the oft-prorogued assembly. Brought back by this fire in the rear, Berkeley made a merit of

May 18 necessity, dissolved the old assembly, and issued writs for a new election. Bacon was unanimously chosen a burgess from Henrico County and with him a majority pledged to support the principles of which he was the recognized exponent. The representatives assembled on the fifth of June, 1676, and chose as speaker, Thomas Godwin, an open friend to all "the rebellion and treason which distracted Virginia." Bacon had been arrested on his way to the assembly but he gave his parole and took his seat with the other burgesses. The executive clemency was wise, for men from the upper settlements quickly moved "with dreadful threatenings to double revenge all wrongs."

Berkeley Forgives Bacon

The reconciliation of Berkeley and Bacon, the restoration of the latter to his seat in the council, and the promise of a commission for ending the Indian war dispersed the excited up-countrymen who had crowded into Jamestown. But Bacon did not get the commission and seems to have feared intended treachery and arrest. He

1676

therefore "took the next horse," to use his own expression, escaped in the night, and, in spite of his parole, appealed from the governor to his friends. A few days later, he reappeared at Jamestown with about five hundred armed "householders" and, without resistance, took possession of the city. The Virginia masses were siding with Bacon and they had the active sympathy of Richard Lawrence, an Oxford scholar who had lost an estate by an unjust decision of Berkeley on the bench, and of William Drummond, the hard-headed Scotchman who had been governor of the North Carolina colony of Albemarle. Naturally enough, Virginians of fortune hesitated at any act that would put their estates in jeopardy. Although the white servants who every year passed out of bondage and received each his fifty acres of land constituted a formidable democracy, the great influx of cavaliers that began in 1649 had been followed by a tendency toward oligarchical government. The efforts of the "Bacon assembly" to check this tendency and the fact that a majority of the wealthy and influential men in the Old Dominion were arrayed against Bacon, should stand for study side by side. In great degree, Bacon's cause was the cause of the humble folk against the grandees, as the rich planters were called; the democracy of the frontier against the aristocracy of the tide-water area.

The Rebels Occupy Jamestown

On receipt of the rumor that Bacon was coming, the governor had summoned the train-bands of York and Gloucester. This call set in slow motion only "one hundred soulders and not one half of them sure neather," and the "rebels" were in Jamestown before the loyal army was in sight. Bacon entered the Virginia capital in early afternoon while the governor and his council were in session and, with little loss of time, paraded his troops in front of the state-house. Berkeley came upon the green and told Bacon before his men that he was a rebel and should have no commission. The burgesses crowded to the windows of their "long room" as the governor marched up and down between the lines of

Berkeley's Defiance

1676 Bacon's troops and in his fury bared his breast and bade them shoot. "'Fore God, a fair mark! Shoot!"

Berkeley's Concession

When Berkeley's pyrotechnic display had ended, Bacon's began. The people shouted, "The commission, we will have it!" and Bacon ordered his men to aim their guns at the crowded windows. As the men cocked their guns, a "pacifick handkercher was shaken out." Berkeley yielded, Bacon got his commission, and the assembly passed an act of amnesty. Then, for once, the wheels of legislation moved rapidly. The monopoly of the Indian trade was broken, the close corporation of the parish was thrown open, arbitrary taxation by irresponsible magistrates was put away, natural rights were restored to disfranchised freemen, protection was thrown around the ballot-box, and the governor and his council ratified the legislation of the assembly. The "Bacon's laws," enacted at gun-muzzle, have been called an oasis in the Virginia legislation of the seventeenth century. That legislation was completed, according to the new style of computation, on the fourth day of July, 1676. The Virginia rebellion was the prophecy of the American revolution.

The Bacon Laws

Violation of Parole and Amnesty

Before the completion of this legislation, there came a report of Indian murders on the York River, only twenty-three miles from the capital and forty miles within the line of the Indian frontier. The next day, Bacon marched for the falls of the James River (Richmond), preparatory to a raid upon the Indians in the Pamunkey country. No sooner were the general and his men out of Jamestown than the governor crossed the York, mustered the militia of the peninsula, and proclaimed Bacon and his soldiers rebels and traitors. Drummond bore the news to Bacon, who called his troops together and proposed that they turn back to face the governor. The troops responded with enthusiasm. Berkeley's adherents gathered in such feeble force that he, "with very grief and sadness of spirit for so bad success, fainted away on horseback" in their presence and fled across the Chesapeake to Accomac which had always remained loyal. Bacon, now practically dictator and governor

July 29

Bacon Governor *de facto*

de facto, established his headquarters at Middle Plantation (now Williamsburg), a few miles north of Jamestown. 1676

Bacon sent out an invitation to "the gentlemen of Virginia to come in and consult with him for the present settlement of his majesty's distracted colony." "None were willing to sit idle in the time of general calamity" and the leading men of Virginia answered the call. They took an oath to support Bacon against the Indians; to protect him against any attempt that Berkeley might put forth; and even to resist any troops that might come from England, until an appeal could be made to the king. The first two clauses met with no opposition, but the third, which smacked of flat rebellion, caused a "bloody debate" of twelve hours' duration. Just in the nick of time, came a fresh Indian raid and the oath was agreed to. The magistrates administered the obligation to the people "none, or very few refusing," and writs were issued for a new assembly. Bacon then led his troops once more against the barbarians and won another victory that put away for years the possibility of any dangerous Indian war in Virginia.

A Virginia Convention

August 3

Meanwhile, Bacon had seized ships and sent Giles Bland with a force across the Chesapeake to capture Berkeley. It would have been better had he gone in person. Berkeley's adherents overpowered the sleeping "rebels" and captured the fleet without firing a shot. After adding sloops and smaller craft to the captured four, Sir William sailed for Jamestown with a force of six hundred, retook his capital without resistance, restored his friends to office, and, for a third time, indulged in the proclamation of Bacon and his followers as rebels and traitors. When Bacon came forth from the wilderness with his little army exhausted by fatigue and want of rations, he heard of Berkeley's return to Jamestown. He promptly led his "wan and weather-beaten little company" toward the doomed capital and threw up intrenchments regardless of Berkeley's "three grate guns" and the fleet close to shore.

Berkeley Retakes Jamestown

September 17

1676 The White Aprons

An old chronicle says that Bacon "thought it not amiss, since the lion's strength was too weak, to strengthen the same with the fox's brains. . . . For immediately he despatcheth two or three parties of horse . . . to bring into the camp some of the prime gentlewomen whose husbands were in town; where, when arrived, he sends one of them to inform her own and the others' husbands for what purpose he had brought them into the camp, namely, to be placed in the forefront of his men, at such time as those in town should sally forth upon him." The story of the white aprons and forlorn husbands has been denied, but it probably is true. At all events, when the governor's forces made a sudden assault, they were "repulsed in a twinkling." Under cover of the night, Berkeley's fleet dropped down the stream and with them went the governor and his troops, the townspeople and their goods.

Jamestown Burned

The fleet had anchored just below the town and Colonel Brent was advancing with a thousand royalists from the northern plantations. Bacon's council of war determined on burning the only town in Virginia that it might not again give shelter to an enemy. The records were removed

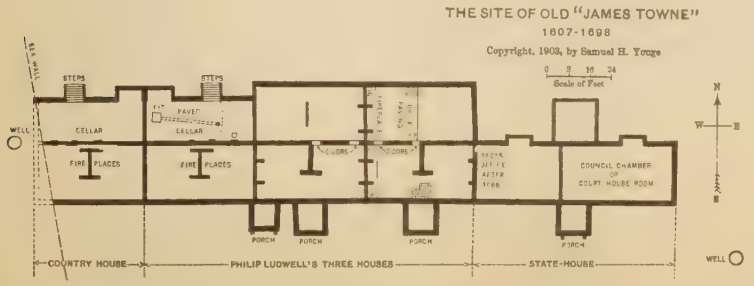
September 19

and, at night, Drummond set fire to his own house as Lawrence did to his. They were the best in town and with them went the rest, even the church, the oldest in Virginia, and the state-house, newly built, not more than a score in all. The church-tower ruin still marks the site of the church. From excavations made in 1903, it appears that the state-house was at the eastern end of a row of buildings of which it formed a part. It was a two-story building, about seventy-four by twenty feet within the walls. The foundations at the western end of the row have been clipped by the sea-wall lately built by the national government.

Bacon's Death

Bacon hastened from Jamestown's smoking ruins and, at Gloucester Point, made ready to receive the royalists who, a thousand strong, were marching to attack him. Young Cromwell commands the drums to beat and his soldiers gather under their colors. They make hasty

preparation for an advance against the oncoming host. 1676
But Brent's ten hundred did not care to fight and Bacon soon heard that they "were all run away and left him [Brent] to shift for himself." Brent was "mightily



Plan of the Foundations of Jamestown Buildings

astonished." Even the Gloucester people took the oath of fidelity to Bacon. Then malarious Jamestown wreaked its vengeance upon its destroyer. Exposure brought on an illness and, at the very floodtide of victory, "all his strength and provisions being spent, [Bacon] surrendered up the Fort he was no longer able to keepe, into the hands of the grim and all conquering Captaine Death." The date of the death of this four months' meteor is variously stated by authorities that I have consulted. The preponderance of evidence seems to indicate October 26, 1676, as the most probable date. As if fearing that Berkeley might put some indignity upon the body, "the thoughtful Mr. Lawrence" had the body buried with great secrecy. When the royalists proposed to hang Bacon's bones in chains upon a gibbet, the body could not be found. The place of his burial is a secret that time has not yet revealed.

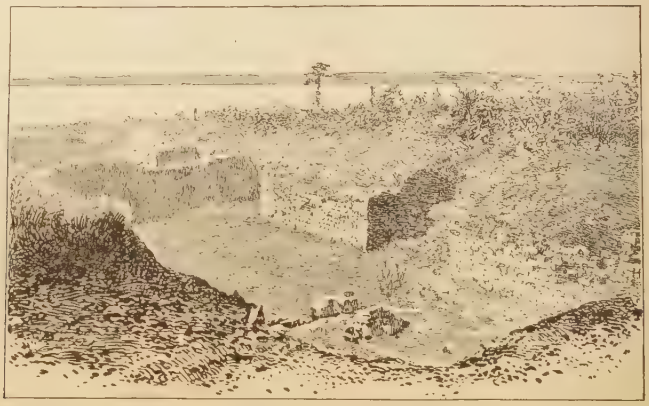
Bacon's Character

When living, Bacon had been loved and hated with a fervor won by few; dead, his career and character have been praised and vilified; to this day, there are opposing views as to the merits of his restless life. For a hundred and fifty years, historians grotesquely misrepresented his character. Not long after the Revolution of 1776,

1676 1677 it was found that an old Virginia family had certain manuscripts, now known as the "Burwell Papers," evidently written by one or more of Bacon's adherents and casting much new light upon the man and upon the events with which his name is connected. The traditional perversion is being cut away.

Berkeley's Ferocity

When the head fell, the hand withered. The rank and file of the insurgents promptly scattered to their homes,



Foundations of Jamestown Buildings, Unearthed in 1903

while the speedy capture and execution of the leaders added to the general panic. Berkeley's return was accepted as a matter of course. The victorious governor issued a proclamation of amnesty from which Drummond, Lawrence, and others were excepted. Drumhead courts-martial with short shrift were the order of the day. Drummond was captured in the White Oak swamp, condemned at one o'clock, and hanged at four. The still "thoughtful Mr. Lawrence" escaped.

January 20, 1677

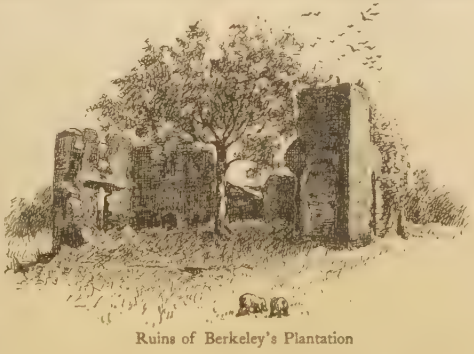
A Reign of Terror

Then fell upon the Old Dominion a veritable reign of terror. Berkeley visited imprisonment and banishment upon his enemies and added greatly to his wealth by fines and confiscations. The assembly voted an address praying "that the governor would spill no more blood" and Charles II. affirmed that "the old fool had taken

February

away more lives in that naked country than I did here for the murder of my father." About this time, a fleet brought a regiment of soldiers to quell the rebellion, the first English troops introduced into the English colonies of this continent. Colonels Herbert Jeffreys and Francis Moryson and Sir John Berry also brought appointments as royal commissioners of inquiry. Berkeley treated the commissioners with mock courtesy and ignored their authority; their report was fatal to the governor's reputation. When Sir William took his departure, guns were fired and bonfires kindled and the people shouted till their throats were sore — well-worn safety-valves of pent-up ecstacy. In England, he found his conduct bitterly censured in parliament and at court. He was broken-hearted and disgraced and "dyed soon after without having seen his Majesty; which shuts up this tragedy." Most of the troops that had come from England early in the year were sent back in the summer, the others remaining to become Virginia planters; in the fall, Berry and Moryson also returned to England. Jeffreys remained as lieutenant-governor of Virginia.

1677



Ruins of Berkeley's Plantation

Exit Berkeley May 5

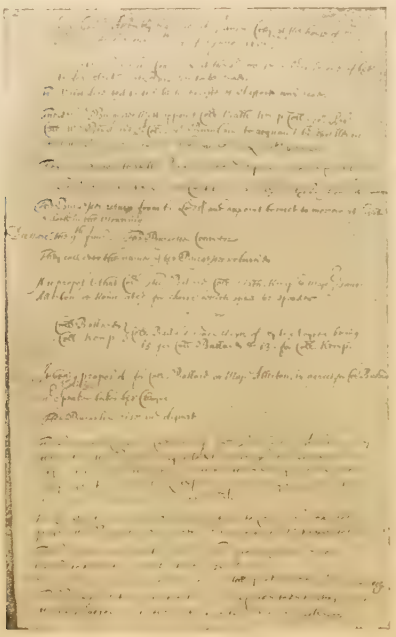
England was not ready for any toleration of the principles represented by the insurrection. His majesty sent out letters announcing that the Bacon insurrection was to the great detriment of his colony of Virginia "and to the danger of others near adjoyneing therevnto," and even the Connecticut council forbade "all and euery person or persons to joyne with the sayd rebells, or to affoard them any armes, ammunition, provission or assistance of any

After the Flood

November 3, 1676

1677–8 kind whatsoeuer." The legislation of the Bacon assembly was repealed; familiar grievances returned; the Virginia aristocracy was once more in the saddle. The royalists were so overbearing and some of them were so eager to profit personally at the expense of the rebels, that Jeffreys found it difficult to hold his ship of state on even keel. The rebellion cost Virginia much but it also taught her sons something of their rights and power. When the English commissioners demanded the journals of the burgesses, they were told that "such power had never been exercised by the king of England." When the clerk of the house declined to give up the books, they were wrested from him. The burgesses declared the seizure "a violation of their privileges and desired satisfaction to be given them that no such violation should be offered them for the future." It was "an inspiring flash in the black darkness of overthrow"—a mere flash.

April, 1677



First Page of MS. Journal of the Virginia House of Burgesses, June 8, 1680

The Coming of Culpeper

Jeffreys concluded a treaty of peace with the Indians and died in December, 1678. He was succeeded by Sir Henry Chicheley who has been variously described as superannuated, sickly, and crazy. He held the office but a year. Then came the coproprietor of Virginia, the easy-going Lord Culpeper, whom the king had appointed as governor of Virginia

for life. Berkeley and his immediate predecessors had looked upon the Old Dominion as their home, Culpeper "regarded the Virginians simply as people to be fleeced." In 1680, Culpeper visited his province. In May, he took the oath of office and organized a council that was "friendly to prerogative." In June, he submitted to the assembly three acts framed in England and already confirmed by the great seal. One of these provided for general amnesty and oblivion for past political offenses. This was welcome. Another transferred the power of naturalization from the assembly to the governor. This was less welcome. The last laid a perpetual export duty of two shillings per hogshead on tobacco and appropriated the proceeds for the support of the government. The colonists had to accept the hated third to get the needed first. The salary of the governor was doubled; allowances for house-rent and other perquisites were added. George Bancroft says of him, "Nay, the peer was not an honest man." In August, Culpeper returned to England, leaving Chicheley as deputy-governor.

1680

Lord Culpeper

The Plant-Cutting Episode

While the tax on tobacco went up, the price of tobacco went down. Over-production flooded the market and the assembly petitioned the king to forbid the planting of tobacco for a year. This would reduce the royal revenues and so the king refused assent. Towns were wanted and the assembly tried, by what was called a "cohabitation act," to compel settlements to thrive at fixed landings. Ships were forbidden to pick up cargoes along the river-banks, going, as had been their wont, from plantation to

1682 plantation. Of course, such legislation failed. Tobacco would grow; towns would not grow. Then from plantation to plantation the "plant-cutters" went, destroying crops to prevent over-production and thus to bring back better times! Two thousand hogsheads of tobacco were destroyed and two hundred Gloucester plantations were laid waste. When the daytime was made dangerous, the plant-cutting was carried on by night; when the men dropped it for fear of punishment, the women took it up. So general was the "rebellion" that soldiers were posted along the Potomac, a Maryland quarantine against the Virginia contagion. This contraction of the currency was suppressed by the militia but the purchasing power of tobacco was increased.

By Prerogative

Plate given to the Queen of Pamunkey

In December, 1682, Culpeper came back to Virginia, hanged two of the leading "plant-cutters" for their treason in reducing the royal revenue, and, by permission of the king, decreed that a five-shilling coin should pass current for six shillings — between colonist and colonist but not in payment for bills of exchange, taxes, or the governor's salary. When the burgesses, indignant at the decree that five should sometimes equal six, ventured on remonstrance, Lord Culpeper turned them out of doors. With the approval of the king, it was announced that no appeal should be taken from the general court (which consisted of the governor and a council of his choosing) to the assembly, and none to the king in

council in any case under the value of one hundred pounds. Culpeper's debtors of the Northern Neck were now at his mercy and had to make terms with him. 1683 1685

Lord Arlington had transferred his Virginia claims to Lord Culpeper and, for a consideration, Culpeper gave up his proprietary patent. When, in 1683, he again left his province and returned to England without permission, his colonial governorship was promptly taken from him. Virginia thus became again a royal province and Lord Howard of Effingham was commissioned as Governor Culpeper's successor. It would be difficult to tell wherein Virginia gained by the change. Virginia Becomes a Royal Province — September

In 1685, came the death of King Charles, the accession of James II., the invasion of England by the duke of Monmouth in June, the defeat of Monmouth's army at Sedgemoor in July, and the capture of the duke. Close on the heels of these events came the butcheries of Colonel Percy Kirke and his infamous "lambs," and the not less infamous "bloody assizes" of Chief-justice Jeffreys and his judges. The details of the excesses are too well known to need repetition here; Monmouth begged in vain for life at any price and a new meaning was given to the judicial declaration, "I can smell a Presbyterian forty miles." According to Macaulay, eight hundred and forty-one prisoners were transported. Among these were many of good birth and education, accustomed to elegance and ease. Many of these were sent to Jamaica; it is a matter of dispute whether any of them were sent to Virginia. The Bloody Assizes — Convict Colonists

There is no need to shrink from the truth in this matter. The English view, less common now than it was a generation or two ago, has been tinged by an exaggeration of the facts. Thus, in 1769, the famous Doctor Johnson said that the Americans "are a race of convicts and ought to be content with anything we may allow them short of hanging." To this, Johnson's little-less-famous biographer, the incomparable Boswell, adds the explanatory statement that "convicts were sent to nine of the American settlements. According to one An Old English Notion

1685 estimate, about two thousand had been sent for many years annually. Dr. Lang, after comparing various estimates concludes that the number sent might be about fifty thousand altogether." More than a century later,

1788 the *Encyclopædia Britannica* tells us that "when on the revolt of the New England colonies the convict establishments in America were no longer available, the attention of the British government, then under the leadership of Pitt, was turned to Botany Bay." Right well may Mr. Butler say that "these English views of the United States in the colonial period as penal settlements and convict establishments move incredulity and indignation in Americans, with whom Plymouth stands for a colony of conscience, Massachusetts for an asylum of martyrs, and Virginia for the old dominion of high-bred cavaliers." If, two or three centuries ago, England did send some of her rogues to America, they came in through the ports of no single settlement and of all who thence came hither some were good and some were bad—just as were those who stayed at home.

Lord Howard of Effingham

Effingham in Virginia

The accession of James II. was greeted with "extraordinary joy" in Virginia where Effingham was holding carnival, but the pleasing sentiment did not long endure. In England, king and church were soon at odds and, in Virginia, according to a Virginian historian, "planters tell each other in a whisper that the Papists in their own midst are concocting a terrible plot. . . . They mean to steep Virginia in gore and make her a dependency of Rome." Even Virginians will not tolerate that.

The Rappahannock men grasp their guns and the men of Stafford are aroused and urged to defend the Protestant cause. "The horse-racing and fox-hunting Virginians are actually going to fight for their religion!" Some were prosecuted and some put in irons for treasonable utterances, but nothing came of all the excitement. Effingham hastened to England. The king hastened to France and left the governor waiting. When the king came back, it was not James II. 1685–1691

The Dutch Prince Becomes the English King

The weakness of this attempted tyranny in Virginia lay in the fact that the governor could not execute his plans. Prerogative in the Old Dominion had reached its highest level but even on the rising flood the people rode and raised their cry of liberty and rights. Philip Ludwell was sent to England to tell the king and council the story of Effingham's rule; about that time the prince of Orange landed. Effingham was still in England; he never returned to America. In April, 1689, at James City, William and Mary, king and queen of England, were proclaimed "lord and lady of Virginia." In 1691, the new king sent back to America the absconding Governor Nicholson of New York as lieutenant-governor of the Old Dominion. It was the beginning of a new régime.

Coat of Arms of Nathaniel Bacon

CHAPTER III

MARYLAND AFTER THE RESTORATION

1661
1692

Governor Charles Calvert 1661

AFTER the restoration of proprietary power in Maryland, Lord Baltimore (Cecilius Calvert) sent over his son, Charles Calvert, as governor of the province, retaining his brother and late deputy, Philip Calvert, as chancellor. Negro slaves had been held in Maryland for a score of years and indented white servants were numerous. Between 1660 and 1665, the population increased from twelve thousand to sixteen thousand and, by 1676, it had increased to twenty thousand.

Quakers and Aliens

Fendall and his associates had done violence to the traditional policy of the province by their treatment of Quakers. After the suppression of the rebellion, the discrimination disappeared and Maryland became a refuge for many such who fled from Puritan persecution in New England and from Cavalier intolerance in Virginia. Many others of the world's persecuted hastened thither, Huguenots from France and children of misfortune from Bohemia and Holland. It has been said that with Lord Baltimore "toleration was a matter quite as much of business as of conscience"—a mere transfer of credit from one page of the ledger to another.

Baltimore Coins

Maryland had few manufactures and no large towns. Occupation meant little more than the production of tobacco, the currency of the province. Large profits led to over-production, closely following which came the navigation acts. As the market value of the staple decreased, the inconveniences of the provincial currency

1661
1666
Currency and Coin

Alsop's Map of Maryland, 1666

were multiplied. In 1661, the Maryland assembly prayed for a mint and Lord Baltimore ordered a coinage of shillings, sixpences, and groats. This did not accomplish all that was hoped for and tobacco continued to be the principal currency. As the market was restricted by English law, prices were crowded down by economic law and the only visible relief lay in a limitation of the crop. Such a proposal was made in 1664, but Lord Baltimore did not approve it and the privy council killed it. It was also suggested to take the duty off naval stores exported from the colonies into England, but the planters of Maryland and Virginia would not abjure tobacco for such uncanny things as pitch and tar and hemp. Things went from bad to worse and, in 1666, the council passed a bill concerning the "cessation

1669 of tobacco" for a year. The burgesses gave assent but the proprietor vetoed the act.

Practical Politics

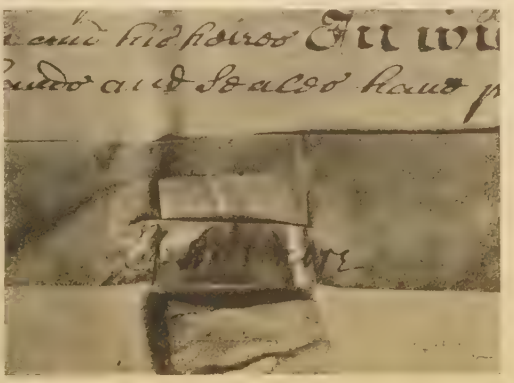
Gradually the differences between the two branches of the legislature became more frequent and more serious, the upper house persistently protecting proprietary prerogative and checking the liberalizing tendencies of the representatives. The writs for the election that followed the session of 1669 restricted the suffrage to freemen who held "fifty Acres of Land at the least or Visible personal Estates to the Value of forty Pounds Sterling at the least." The authority for the restriction is not apparent. In spite of this limitation of the suffrage, "a sheer assertion of pre-

Augustine Herman's Map of Virginia and Maryland, 1673

rogative," some of the chosen burgesses were men who would oppose some of the measures of the governor and council. The names of those whose attendance might be dangerous to the projects of the political "bosses" of the palatinate were omitted from the summons to the

assembly. This was done under the pretense of saving to the people part of the expense of the session. The house of burgesses thus sifted was kept alive until 1676. Saint Marys was not far removed from Jamestown. 1675 1676

Cecilius, the second Lord Baltimore, died on the thirtieth of November, 1675, and Charles Calvert, who had administered the government for fourteen years, became the third Lord Baltimore and proprietor of Maryland. He inherited many of his father's noble purposes but was inferior to him in tact and ability. In 1676, he convoked the assembly. A thorough revision of the laws was made and the famous toleration act of 1649 was confirmed. From Father to Son



Autograph of Charles Calvert, Third Lord Baltimore

Lord Baltimore appointed Thomas Notley deputy-governor and, in the spring of 1676, sailed for England. Everything was quiet and seemed to promise well for province and proprietor but complaints followed. A letter from a Maryland clergyman to the archbishop of Canterbury, couched in terms probably more vigorous than justifiable, declared that "the Popish Priests and Jesuits . . . are incouraged & Provided for & the Quakers take care & provide for those that are speakers in their conventicles, but noe care is taken or Provision made for the building up Christians in the Protestant Religion by means whereof not only many Dayly fall away either to Popery, Quakerism, or phanaticisme but alsoe the lord's day is proffaned, Religion despised, & Religion and Morality May 25, 1676

1676 all notorious vices committed, soe that it is become
1680 a Sodom of uncleanness and a pest-house of iniquity." Although the proprietor pointed out that there were but few adherents of the Anglican church, the privy council directed that ministers of the church of England be supported and that the laws against vice be enforced. Lord Baltimore returned to his province in 1680, and ignored the orders of the council.

Constitutional Struggle

In the proprietor's absence, some of the spirit of Bacon's rebellion had been wafted across the Potomac. The collapse of the insurrection in Virginia doubtless averted bloodshed in Maryland and extinguished the incipient Davis and Pate rebellion there. Davis and Pate were hanged, peace was preserved in the palatinate, and Thomas Notley was continued as Calvert's deputy. The assembly placed the elective franchise on a more liberal basis but, after his return, Lord Baltimore annulled the new rule and restored the limitations of 1670. The proprietor had not only his veto, but in the upper house of the assembly he had a permanent and irreversible majority. Most of the members of this council were Roman Catholics, relatives, and trusted friends of the proprietor. In a community where Protestants outnumbered Catholics more than ten to one, this was likely to provoke opposition. Between the oligarchical council and the democratic burgesses there arose a fierce constitutional struggle. The idea of a feudal principality was quite out of keeping with the times; manorial and proprietary rights were irreconcilable with the principles of civil equality that were showing life and growth in all the American and English colonies.

Charles Calvert, Third Lord Baltimore

Soon after Lord Baltimore's return to Maryland, the ever-active Fendall and John Coode, an English clergyman of little worth, attempted to rouse the Protestants to insurrection. The movement was quickly crushed and Fendall was fined and banished. Complaints of favoritism for Catholics, many of them unfounded, were continually sent to England and, in 1681, the privy council notified Lord Baltimore that sectarian partiality would not be tolerated. In spite of the exemptions of the charter, the navigation act of 1662 imposed custom-house duties. The collectors for the crown accused Lord Baltimore of interfering with their work and the king preferred a claim for revenues thus lost. The charges were persistently pushed and weakened the proprietary government. The increasing tendency of the British administration to treat the American colonies not as isolated provinces but as a connected whole was irreconcilable with the sovereignty of Lord Baltimore. The logic of events was fast undermining the palatinate.

1680 Political Trouble

Augustine Herman

After the conquest of New Sweden by the Dutch in 1655, Governor Stuyvesant sent Augustine Herman and Resolved Waldron as envoys to the Maryland government. Herman began by claiming nearly everything for the Dutch and ended by transferring his allegiance to the English and accepting from Lord Baltimore a manorial grant of five thousand acres on Elk River. The English king had given New Netherland to the

The Duke's Encroachments

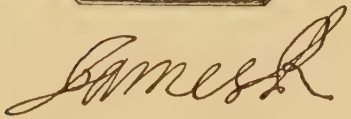
Bohemia Manor

1681–1685 duke of York, but the grant did not convey title to the lands west of Delaware Bay which were expressly included in the Maryland charter. In spite of this, the duke's officers trespassed on the palatinate by taking charge of the Dutch and Swedish settlements there.

Penn's Encroachments

In 1681, King Charles granted to William Penn a province north of Maryland and west of the Delaware River. This Pennsylvania was to be bounded "on the South by a Circle drawne at twelve miles distance from New Castle Northward and Westward unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of Northern Latitude, and then by a streight Line Westward." The circle would not reach to the fortieth parallel and "the beginning of the fortieth degree" might mean the thirty-ninth parallel. Penn needed a bit of seacoast. Bent upon that salt-water margin, he secured from the duke of York his claim to the counties that the Dutch had taken from the Swedes — the greater part of what now constitutes the state of Delaware. Penn must have known that the duke had no title to the lands asked for and both of them doubtless knew that the duke's father had given them to Lord Baltimore.

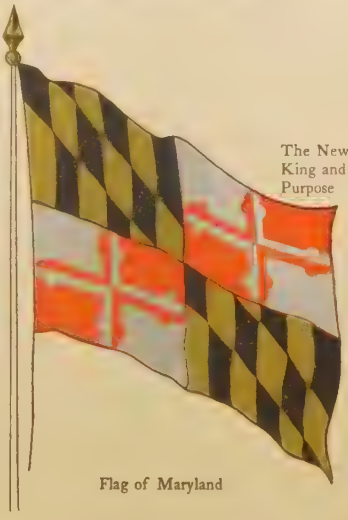
August, 1682



A Boundary Dispute

Lord Baltimore protested against the contemplated robbery only to find that "in such matters there was not much profit in contending against princes." In April, 1684, he appointed a council of nine deputy-governors and sailed for England. In November, 1685, the board of trade decided that the Maryland charter included only "lands unculti-

vated and inhabited by savages whereas the land in question was settled by Christians before Lord Baltimore's patent;" a verdict against Lord Baltimore on the ground of *hactenus inculta!* Before the decision was carried into execution, there was a great revolution in England. The boundary question continued to vex the two colonies for many years. 1685–1688



Flag of Maryland

The New King and his Purpose

In 1671, the duke of York had avowed himself a Roman Catholic. In 1685, he ascended the throne as James II. The accession of such a monarch might have raised new hopes but it brought added danger. The Maryland charter was too liberal to meet the approval of a monarch who had resolved to subvert the liberties of England and to reduce all the colonies to a direct dependence on the crown. In 1687, a writ of *quo warranto* was issued against the charter. In those days, such a writ seldom failed but, before James II. could get judgment against Lord Baltimore, "the people of England had sat in judgment on their king." In fact, the ill will of the king was good fortune for the proprietor. Had Lord Baltimore been in favor with James II., it is probable that no part of his proprietary rights would have survived the revolution of 1688.

President Joseph and his Harangue

Instead of returning to Maryland, the proprietor had sent over William Joseph, "a foolish, wordy man," as one of the deputies and president "upon all occasions of business." President Joseph took the oath of office and, when the delegates came together in November, assured them that "the power by which we are assembled here is undoubtedly derived from God to the king, and from the king to his excellency, the lord proprie-

October 3, 1688

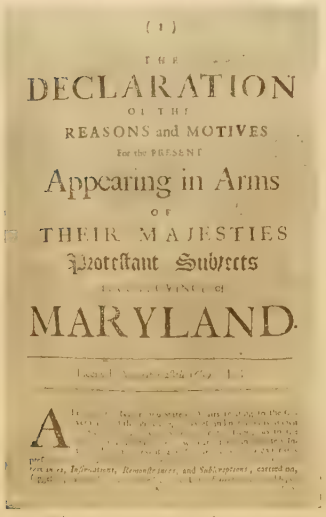
1689 tary, and from his said lordship to us." This harangue and the demand that they renew their oaths of fidelity alarmed the burgesses and made worse a state of affairs already bad.

Revolution in England February 27

When William and Mary came upon the English throne, Lord Baltimore sent a messenger with orders to his council in Maryland to proclaim the new monarchs. This messenger died on the way and the council did not make the proclamation. Lord Baltimore sent duplicate instructions but, before they reached the province, the proprietary power was overthrown by an insurrection. Until the recent publication of the Maryland archives and the recovery of long-lost records, it was difficult to ascertain the exact cause of the uprising. It was reported that the Maryland magistrates and the Roman Catholics had engaged with the Indians for the destruction of the Protestants. In fact, the flight of King James to France was the occasion of an anti-papist panic in most of the English colonies in America.

Insurrection in Maryland

In April, 1689, John Coode and others organized "An Association in arms for the defence of the Protestant religion, and for asserting the right of King William and Queen Mary to the province of Maryland and all the English dominions."

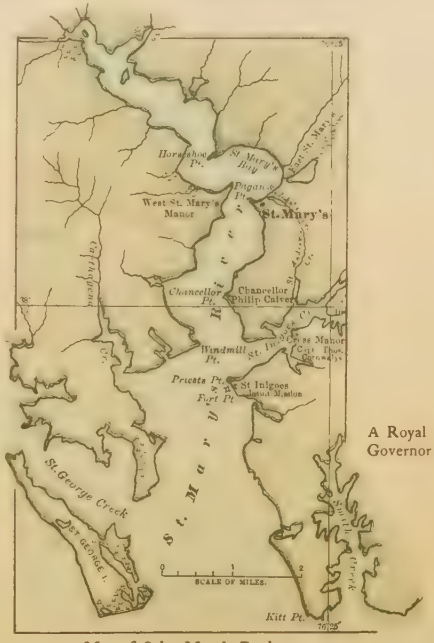

(1)
THE
DECLARATION
OF THE
REASONS and MOTIVES
for the PRESENT
Appearing in Arms
OF
THEIR MAJESTIES
Protestant Subjects
OF THE PROVINCE OF
MARYLAND

The "Declaration" of Coode and the Insurgents

Proprietary Government Overthrown

On the twenty-fifth of July, 1689, the association published a "Declaration." Two days later, Coode and armed men "raised up Potomack" appeared before Saint Marys. The proprietary party fled to Mattapany Fort on the Patuxent River, eight miles distant, where they were besieged

and forced to surrender. The insurrection was wholly bloodless. The associators then sent a fulsome address to the king and queen and called a convention to meet in the latter part of August. Like the insurrection at Boston that had just overthrown Sir Edmund Andros, the uprising was alleged to be in support of William and Mary as against the deposed James. Many Protestants "stood stiffly up for the proprietary's interest," but the cause that had gone down in England could not triumph in America. 1689 1692



Map of Saint Mary's Region

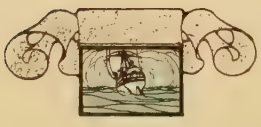
A Royal Governor

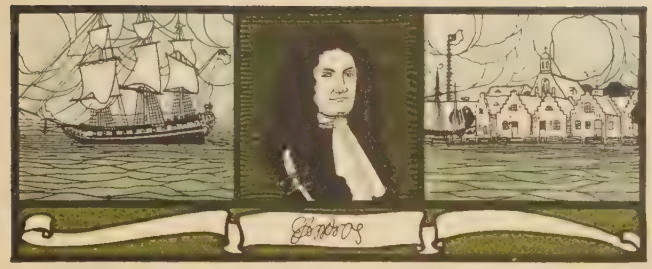
In February, 1690, King William acknowledged the receipt of the address and continued the associators in power. In August, the English attorney-general was directed to proceed by writ of *scire facias* against Lord Baltimore's charter. In the following year, Queen Mary wrote to the grand committee of the association that the province had been taken under the king's direct control, that Sir Lionel Copley had been appointed governor, and that they, the grand committee, were to administer the government in the names of their majesties until the governor's arrival. Copley was commissioned in the following August and arrived in Maryland in March, 1692. Lord Baltimore's pecuniary rights were recognized and his political authority withdrawn. Maryland had become a royal colony.

March 12, 1691

1692 Flotsam and Jetsam

If Lord Baltimore had been present in the province, he might have overcome the difficulties of the situation. The revolution seems to have been the work of a small cabal of ambitious men who used Coode to capture the common people, to permit the more subtle instigators of the plot to screen themselves if necessary, and to utilize the fear of the Indians and the distrust of the Catholics. The new monarchs wished to draw into close dependence on the crown the American colonies that their predecessors had bestowed with lavish hand. Inclination and interest prompted them to put Protestants in power and so they sustained the revolutionary party and sent a royal governor to Maryland. The action of William and Mary seems to have been as arbitrary as any charged against the house of Stuart. A quarter of a century later, the province was restored to the grandson of the deposed proprietor.





CHAPTER IV

NEW YORK

NEW Netherland had long been closely crowded by the English colonists on its borders and threatened by English envy of Dutch commerce. Its open port at Manhattan made difficult the enforcement of the English navigation laws and made easy a coastwise traffic that cut down the royal revenue ten thousand pounds a year. In September, 1664, this rich prize, the strategic key of the continent, fell an easy prey to the scheming of Clarendon, King Charles's chancellor. This plunder might be made the fulcrum for a lever with which to press the chartered colonies into submission to a policy of personal rule and Clarendon intended to secure for his master the full benefit of Nicolls's bloodless victory.

1664
1690

Purpose and Opportunity

For his purpose, a firm grasp and a strong government directly pendent from the throne were desirable. James, duke of York, was brother to Charles II. and heir to kingly power. When the duke became king, the duchy would become a royal province. Several months prior to the fall of New Amsterdam, the king, in consideration of an annual payment of "forty Beaver skins when they shall be demanded or within Ninety days after," granted to the duke a magnificent domain that included New Netherland, with full power to govern "according to such Laws, Orders, Ordinances, Directions, and Instruments as by our said Dearest Brother or his Assigns shall be established. . . . So always as the

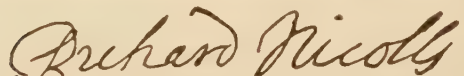
The Gift of an Empire

March 12, 1663=March 22, 1664

1664 said Statutes Ordinances and proceedings be not contrary to but as near as conveniently may be agreeable to the Laws, Statutes & Government of this Our Realm of England." The right of hearing and determining appeals was reserved for the king.

Royal Commissioners

The modifying words, "as near as conveniently may be agreeable," might be credited to brotherly affection, but the patent has been called "the most despotic instrument recorded in the colonial archives of England." A royal commission, consisting of Colonel Richard Nicolls, two other officers in the royal army, and Samuel Maverick, a bitter enemy of Massachusetts, were invested with "full power in all matters, military and civil, in the New England colonies" and instructed to subdue the Dutch and to increase the prerogatives of the crown. Nicolls had been commissioned as deputy-governor of the duke's domain.



Autograph of Richard Nicolls

April 2

Governor Nicolls

Fort Orange was rechristened Albany, a name drawn from the Scottish title of the duke of York, Esopus became Kingston, and Long Island took the English name of Yorkshire. The New England volunteers were discharged and, when the conciliatory Nicolls proposed to the chief burghers that, instead of going back to Holland, they should take the oath of allegiance to King Charles, Stuyvesant and nearly all the others thankfully accepted the invitation. The duke had granted to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, two of the Carolina proprietors, the territory now known as New Jersey, but Nicolls knew nothing of the transfer until the summer of 1665, when Philip Carteret arrived as governor of the ceded province. The Dutch on the Delaware gave easy submission but the eastern boundary presented greater difficulties. The controversy with Connecticut was temporarily adjusted by the joint commission. About twenty years later, the boundary was established essentially as it is today.

Nicolls then turned his attention to legislation and drew up what are known as "the duke's laws." These "laws" prescribed toleration in matters of religion, made no provision for schools or town-meetings, and withheld many political privileges to which the English settlers had been accustomed. The high sheriff and the justices were to be appointed by the "Governour" and were to hold office at his pleasure. They, with the governor and his council, were to meet yearly at New York as the law-making power. The action of this court of assizes was subordinate, primarily, to the will of Nicolls and, secondarily, to the approval of the duke of York. In February, 1665, Nicolls notified the inhabitants of Long Island "That upon the last day of this present ffebruary, at Hempsteed upon Long Island, shall be held a Generall Meeting which is to consist of Deputyes chosen by the major part of the freeman only, which is to be understood, of all Persons rated according to their Estates, whether English or Dutch." When the delegates assembled on the first day of March, Nicolls, instead of permitting them to frame their own laws after the English fashion, "promulgated" the first code of English law in New York. The "Yorkshiremen," largely emigrants from New England and sorely disappointed in the denial of popular representation, "reproached and vilified" the deputy-governor. But Nicolls insisted upon his authority and the delegates submitted with as good a grace as possible. This first assembly was the last while Nicolls was in power.

1665 The Duke's Laws

In the Long Island Yorkshire, the code was promptly enforced; in New York and along the Hudson, a slower change was permitted. Dutch forms were gradually abolished and the municipal government was anglicized; schepen, burgomaster, and schout became mayor, alderman, and sheriff. The Dutch may have grumbled but they made no formal opposition or protest. Although the Dutch outnumbered the English three to one, the conquered settlement was transformed into an English province in less than a year. But New Amsterdam was

Transformation

1665 strangely cosmopolitan, Stuyvesant had more in common
1668 with the austere New Englander than with his own people, and numerous English settlements had been established in New Netherland.

The French and the Iroquois

The seizure of New Netherland precipitated a war that had been brewing since the accession of Charles II. The war with the Dutch was little felt in the American colonies but war with the French was a different thing. When, alarmed at the English triumph, Louis XIV. declared war, the English colonies in America were ordered to conquer Canada—a task that took a hundred years. The movement roused but little enthusiasm in the colonies and the only measures taken were some mild attempts to stir the Mohawks to freshened enmity against the French. In 1663, the Canada company surrendered its rights to Louis XIV., who at once adopted a policy of conquest. In 1665, the three upper nations of the Iroquois sent ambassadors to the French to sue for peace. Early in 1666, Courcelles went with five hundred men to attack the recalcitrant Mohawks. When he learned that New Netherland was New York, he abandoned the unfortunate expedition and "with faces about, and great sylence and dilligence, return'd towards Cannada." In his declaration that "the king of England did grasp at all America," the surprised Frenchman told the exact truth.

July 31, 1667 By the treaty of Breda, England gave up Nova Scotia and kept New York. Notwithstanding Nicolls's intrigues, Mohawk and Oneida chiefs went to Quebec and promised submission to the French. The whole northern frontier of the English colonies was now left exposed.

Nicolls leaves New York

After the clipping of New Jersey from his province, Nicolls had often asked to be relieved from office and, on the twenty-eighth of August, 1668, he bore with him from New York the good will of all classes, even of those among whom he had come as a conqueror. His name stands preëminent among royal governors in America for moderation and integrity. His successor was Colonel Francis Lovelace.

The city that Lovelace found extended from the lower end of the island to the stout palisade at the line of Wall Street. North and south ran a thoroughfare that seems narrow to the visitor from the roomy West and South. Beyond the gate in the palisade, the people called the road Heere Wegh. At nightfall, the watchman shut the gate and Heere Wegh without was severed from Heere Straat within. On each side of the Heere Straat were about two hundred brick houses that stood with gable end toward the street, much after the manner of Holland. Between the Heere Straat and the Hudson, the land was high; toward the East River were marshes and a tangle of watercourses, for a trace of which one would vainly seek today. In winter, the boys coasted downhill directly over the site of the New York stock exchange; in summer evenings they drove home the cows that pastured where the custom-house stood in 1900 and herded the sheep that fed where the street is undermined by the vaults of the national subtreasury. In the space now bounded by Whitehall, Bridge, and State streets and the Bowling Green stood Fort James. Beyond the palisade were favorite suburban resorts, such as the "common" (the site of the city hall and its park) and the "kissing bridge" (near the corner of Chatham and Roosevelt streets) "over which no right minded young Hollander suffered his buxom companion to pass unsaluted." The "Great Bouwerie" where Governor Stuyvesant made his home was "away out in the

1668 Governor Lovelace

A Manhattan Bucolic

A Dutch Tavern in Beaver Street, New York

1669 country," as far out as Tenth Street. They who lived
1670 along the sound went to town by way of Hell Gate and a ferryman's boat made trips to Breukelen. Along the Hudson were farms and Dutch towns, while beyond Albany, doing picket duty, stood Schenectady.

A New York Board of Trade

In 1670, Governor Lovelace established the first New York exchange at the canal bridge (corner of Bridge and Broad streets)—an Americanized Rialto—where, from eleven to twelve of every Friday morning, New York merchants met to talk and trade. The place was well chosen; the great breweries were hard by. Old writers tell us of various wines and of "kill-devil" punches of brandy and West India rum, but brewing was the most thriving industry of the city. The brewers had enough of influence to give their name to their thoroughfare, Brouwer Straat, now the less limpid Stone Street.

The Recipe of Tyranny

When the patient Swedes were forced to resist the absolute rule at which the duke of York was aiming, Lovelace, in September, 1669, wrote to his lieutenant in the southern settlements suggesting "seuerity & laying such Taxes on them as may not giue them liberty to Entertaine any other thoughts but how to discharge them." When some of the Long Island towns refused to pay the tax ordered by the governor for purposes of defense on the ground that "we are deprived the liberties of Englishmen," the votes of those towns were censured as "scandalous, illegal and seditious" and were ordered to be burned in public. But the cremation of the votes was feeble cautery for the wounded feelings of the yeomen and did not put the forts in order. All this and more worked to the advantage of the Dutch when, three years later, Evertsen came with his fleet to play out the game of tit-for-tat that Nicolls had begun.

Great Seal of the Province of New York

Gubernatorial Inefficiency

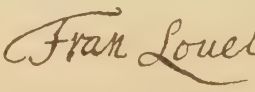
In 1670, the triple alliance of England, Sweden, and Holland was dissolved and England and France

A DESCRIPTION OF THE
TOWNE OF MANNADOS
OR NEW AMSTERDAM
This Scale of Five Hondred yeardes is for the Towne.

THE "DUKE'S P

F NEW YORK, 1664

agreed to join in war against the Netherlands. Then William, prince of Orange, came to the front and the far-away kinsmen of the warring Dutch and English heard vague rumors of great deeds. In February, 1672, Lovelace was warned and, in March, he was ordered to strengthen the fortifications of New York but he saw no danger. In the spring of 1673 there were rumors of a Dutch fleet coming. The threatened storm passed by and New York slept in conscious strength — protected by a worthless fort and its garrison of fourscore men! 1670 1673



Autograph of Francis Lovelace

The Dutch Retake the Province

On the last Monday of July, 1673, a Dutch fleet anchored off Staten Island. There, by accident rather than design, Evertsen, the Dutch commander, heard of the eighty men, the worthless walls, the dismounted guns and rotting carriages, and the discontent of the people of New York, some of which he had heard before. In serenity of mind, Lovelace was enjoying the hospitality of Winthrop, governor of Connecticut. Two days later, Evertsen moved up the bay with his Dutch ships and sixteen hundred men, opened fire, landed six hundred soldiers, and stormed the fort.

July 30 = August 9

Revivification

Defense was useless. Captain Manning surrendered to Captain Anthony Colve and, nine years after Stuyvesant, the English garrison marched out of the fort with the honors of war. Edward Palmes of New London sent word "post hast for his Majesties speciall seruice" to Governor Leverett of Massachusetts that "New Yorke was taken Wednesday last with the loss of one man on each side." The Dutch blow at New York was as sudden as the English blow at New Amsterdam. By the wonder-working magic of a Dutch "Presto, change!" New Orange flourished where New Amsterdam and New York had been and New Netherland came back

1673 1674 from the grave once more to claim its own. The Dutch commodore proclaimed Captain Colve governor-general of the country and set sail for Holland. Colve retained two war vessels for his defense but could not have felt very sure of his ability to hold what he so easily had obtained. But the duke of York was deemed a papist and New England Puritans had little inclination to take up arms to regain New York for him. The year went by with one side muttering sullenly and the other side praying for aid from Holland.

The English Regain the Province February 9, 1673=February 19, 1674

The peace of Westminster restored New Netherland to England and rumors of the cession reached Colve in May, 1674. The New Orange Dutch swore that they would hold the province "by fighting so long as they could stand with one leg and fight with one hand" but some of them lived to smoke their pipes as obedient English subjects for many prosperous years. A new patent to the duke of York was issued in June and the treaty was proclaimed at New York in July. The king appointed Major Edmund Andros to receive the surrender and the duke of York commissioned him to govern in his name. Colve absolved the officials from their oaths of allegiance to Holland and turned over the province to Andros. English names were restored, English laws were reëstablished, and the routine of life went on as before.

Sir Edmund Andros

July 1

November 10

Governor Andros

Andros was then thirty-seven years of age. In the words of Professor Andrews, he had no sense of humor, no appreciation of the condition of the English in America, and no tolerance for political views that differed

from his own. His administration, although arbitrary in form, was mild in practice. The Manhattan settlement antedated the Pilgrim planting, but New York numbered not more than seven thousand persons while New England had a hundred and twenty thousand. In the next four years, the population increased a third or more. There was complete freedom of conscience and Andros reported that ministers were scarce and religions many. 1674 1675

Commerce and Corporations

The suppression of the contraband trade brought New York into closer relations with seaports of the mother country and strengthened English sentiment in a people of peculiarly cosmopolitan character. Small vessels still carried on a prosperous coastwise trade and exchanged breadstuffs and provisions for tobacco with the planters of Maryland and Virginia. The increasing commerce demanded more ample accommodations and a mole or dock was built in the East River to protect the shipping from the rapid currents caused by the tides. The governor and council, acting for the duke, incorporated a company "for Settleing a Fishery in these parts;" the shares were fixed at ten pounds each. This is said to be the first strictly business corporation created by an American colony.

January 8, 1675

Andros and his English Neighbors

The patent of 1674 reinvested the duke of York with authority over all territory conveyed by his original grant. When, in 1635, the members of the Plymouth council divided New England among themselves, Long Island was included in the share of the earl of Stirling. In 1663, the duke of York had bought up all the Stirling claims; he now strengthened his claim to Long Island by securing a new release thereof. New Jersey was again passed over to Carteret, but Andros never lost an opportunity to urge his claim of jurisdiction over the alienated territory and to interfere in its government. When King Philip's war broke out, Andros wrote to Governor Winthrop that he was very much troubled at the "hard disasters in those parts, being so overpowered by such heathen," and added: "I intend, God willing, to set out this evening and to make the best of my way

July 29, 1674

July 4, 1675

1675 to Connecticut River, His Royal Highnesses bounds
1677 there." He sailed with three sloops and a force of soldiers and landed at Saybrook to read the duke's patent and his own commission. He doubtless had intended to garrison the fort but Connecticut troops and Captain Bull were already there. Andros sailed back to New York and the duke of York gave orders that the line twenty miles east of the Hudson be observed as the boundary.

Andros and the Indians

In his efforts to combat French influence, Andros appointed Robert Livingston secretary of the board of commissioners of Indian affairs, probably the most fruitful appointment of his administration. Beyond the Alleghenies lay the seat of a great empire but between it and the English settlers of the seaboard was a wall from thirty-five hundred to seven thousand feet in height. Through that wall, five rivers cut, the James, the Potomac, the Susquehanna, the Delaware, and the Hudson. Today the valley of each is a roadway to the West but then only one offered easy passage. The Hudson and its affluent, the Mohawk, led to short and easy portages whence waters flowed to the nearest of the great lakes. By this course, thus opened up by nature, railroads and canals first pushed their way into the West, but there then dwelt the Iroquois. The fierce warriors of the Five Nations held the key of the continent and that key must be secured for the English-speaking race. In 1677, representatives of Virginia, Maryland, and New York met the sachems in conference at Albany and made with them a

Andros's Coat of Arms

strong alliance. This was a foreshadow of the contest that was to shake two continents; it was the germ of the idea of colonial union. 1678–1680

In 1677, Andros visited England; in 1678, he returned to New York as Sir Edmund and with a new commission as vice-admiral. William, prince of Orange, had married Mary, daughter of the duke of York and heiress to the English throne. This union went far toward reconciling the New York Dutch to English rule. In 1680, Andros arrested Carteret in New Jersey for exercising jurisdiction and collecting customs within the duke's domain. Partly as a consequence of this action, he was called back to England and Lieutenant Anthony Brockholls went down from Albany to direct the government. In England, Andros received full exoneration and became a gentleman of the king's privy chamber.

Andros is Called to England

The warrant for the collection of customs had expired just before Andros's recall and, by oversight, had not been renewed. When William Dyer, late of Rhode Island but now the duke's collector of customs at New York, detained goods for non-payment of duties, he was indicted and sent

A Fundamental Principle

New York in 1679

to England for trial. As it was found that Dyer had "done nothing amiss," he was returned to New York as "surveyor-general of his Majesty's customs in the American Plantations." Practically asserting the doctrine of no

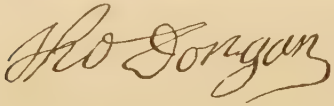
1680 taxation without representation, the grand jury presented
1683 the grievances of the province and called for a governor, a council, and an assembly chosen by the freeholders.

A Hint of Self-Government

In 1680, the duke of York released the Jerseys and, in 1681, the king issued the Pennsylvania charter. With colonial assemblies at their very doors it was natural that the New Yorkers should demand the same for themselves. Their petition reached the duke at a favorable moment. He had met so many difficulties, annoyances, and complaints that he was inclined to sell his province, when William Penn whispered to him: "Don't think of such a thing. Just give it self-government and there will be no more trouble."

Governor Dongan

The duke of York had no fondness for popular assemblies but he promised the demanded reforms. As successor to Andros and Brockholls, he sent Colonel Thomas Dongan, who proved to be an able administrator and a sagacious, prudent magistrate. He arrived at New York late in August, 1683, with instructions "forthwith to call together Fredericke Phillipps, Stephen Courtland and soe many more of the most eminent inhabitants of New Yorke, not exceeding tenn, to be of my Councill." He was also instructed to issue writs "with all convenient speed . . . wherein you shall expresse that I [the duke] have thought fitt that there shall be a Generall assembly of all the Freeholders, by the persons who they shall choose to represent them in order to consulting with yourselfe and the said Councill what laws are fitt and necessary to be made." The number of representatives was not to exceed eighteen and, "when the said assembly soe elected shalbe mett at the time and place directed, you shall lett them know that for the future it is my resolucion that the said Generall Assembly shall have free liberty to consult and debate among themselves all matters as shall be apprehended proper to be established for laws . . . and that if such laws shalbe pro-



Autograph of Thomas Dongan

A Ducal Promise

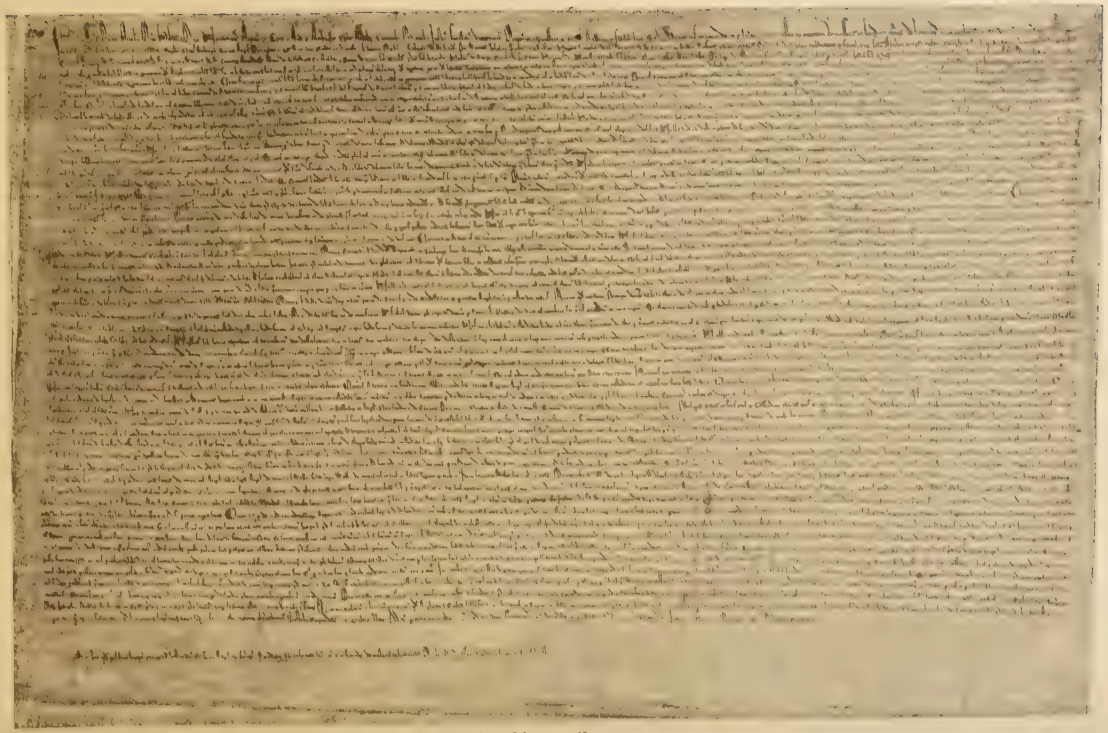
pounded as shall appeare to mee to be for the manifest good of the Country in generall and not prejudiciall to me, I will assent unto and confirme them. . . . In all cases you are to have a negative voice to refuse all Laws that are presented to you; and when you shall have given your consent to such laws as shalbe soe agreed, you shall by the first opportunity transmitt the same to me . . . to the end that I may ratifye and confirme the same if I shall approve, or reject them if I doe not thinke them reasonable." The instructions did not specifically state but they did clearly imply that no tax was to be levied without the consent of the assembly. No English colony in America had a more democratic form of government—but it was destined to be short-lived. 1683

A Popular Assembly

The first New York assembly met at Fort James in October, 1683. Its eighteen members represented constituencies as widely separated as Schenectady, Long Island, Marthas Vineyard, Nantucket, and Pemaquid (Maine). Its first act had the misleading title: "The Charter of Liberties and Privileges granted by his Royal Highness to the Inhabitants of New York and its dependencies." This able paper vested legislative authority in the governor, the council, and "the people met in general assembly." It assured religious freedom to all peaceable persons "which profess faith in God by Jesus Christ" and plainly declared that "no aid, tax, . . . or imposition whatsoever shall be levied on any of his majesties subjects within this province or their estate upon any manner of color or pretense, but by the act and consent of the governor, council, and representatives of the people in general assembly." It was jeweled with reminders of magna charta, the confirmation of the charters, the petition of rights of 1628 in England, and the expressed hopes, aspirations, and demands of the people of the province. The duke waited a year before he signed and sealed the "charter" and ordered that it be sent across the sea. For some reason, the sending was delayed—the signed charter never reached New York.

The First New York Assembly

The Charter of Liberties



The Magna Charta

Other acts provided revenues for the duke and divided the province into twelve counties, the significant names of some of which still show upon the map — Winchester, Dutchess, Ulster, Orange, Kings, Queens, Suffolk, etc. After a session of nearly three weeks, the assembly adjourned. 1684 1685

A new Covenant with the Iroquois

In July, 1684, Lord Howard of Effingham, then governor of Virginia, and Governor Dongan of New York met the sachems of the Five Nations at Albany, as Jefreys of Virginia and Andros of New York had in 1677. The Virginia governor acted for Maryland also and Stephanus Van Cortlandt appeared as the agent of Massachusetts. Canada and New York had advanced conflicting claims to sovereignty over the country south of Lake Ontario and the solution of the controversy turned upon the independence of the Iroquois. Notwithstanding French diplomacy and threats, the sachems renewed their covenant with the English and asked that the arms of the duke of York should be placed on the Mohawk castles as a protection against their enemies. Although they did not realize that this would be regarded as an avowal of allegiance to the king of Great Britain, the prestige of the English was thereby increased and a substantial monopoly of the coveted Indian trade was secured. July 30

A new King's Veto

In 1685, the duke of York became James II. and New York became a royal province. Charles II. died on the sixth of February; on the third of March the New York charter of liberties was read at a meeting of the lords of trade, and (so runs the record) "the several powers and privileges therein granted being considered, His Majesty [who as duke had signed and sealed the document] doth not think fitt to confirm the same." In a list of "observacions upon the charter of New York" read that day, occurs this one especially significant: "The words *The People* met in General Assembly are not used in any other Constitution in America; but only the words *General Assembly*." With an increase of salary from four hundred to six hundred pounds, payable out

1686 June 10

of the revenues of the province, Dongan was commissioned anew as "Captain General and Governor in chief" and instructed "to Declare Our Will & pleasure that the said Bill or Charter of Franchises bee forthwith repealed & disallowed, as the same is hereby Repealed, determined & made void. But you are nevertheless with our said Council to continue the Dutys & Impositions therein mentioned to bee raised untill you shall with the consent of the Council settle such Taxes and Impositions as shall be sufficient for the support of our Government of New York."

The Vetoed Charter still Valid for Purposes of Revenue

Ministers

Dongan was directed "to observe in the passing of Laws that the Stile of Enacting the same, By the Governor & Council, bee henceforth used and noe other." No minister was to be preferred by the Catholic governor to any benefice in the province without a certificate from the archbishop of Canterbury "of his being conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England," and no schoolmaster was to be "permitted to come from England & to keep school within Our Province of New York without the license of the said Archbishop of Canterbury. . . . All persons of what Religion soever [were to be permitted] quietly to inhabit within your Government without giving them any disturbance or disquiet whatsoever for or by reason of their differing Opinions in matters of Religion." Particular encouragement was to be given to the trade of the Royal African company of England and no person was to keep any press for printing and no matter was to be printed without "especial leave & license first obtained."

Schoolmasters

Printing-Presses

An Enforced Colonial Union

Of course, the veto, the instructions, and the omission of any reference to a legislative assembly signified unmistakably that the accession of James to the throne had untied his hands. He now was free to put into operation a plan that the lords of trade and plantations had had on the anvil for a full decade. New England and New York were to be joined and Sir Edmund Andros was to be transferred from the king's privy chamber to America as their governor-general. The record of the

meeting of the committee of trade and plantations held at Whitehall within a month of the death of King Charles, King James being then and there present, contains the following: "And as to the government of New York His Majesty is pleased to direct that it be assimilated to the Constitution that shall be agreed on for New England to which it is adjoining." Several governors of New York had recommended a consolidation, the inclination of king and council lay parallel, and the French monarch, by his policy of aggression on the frontiers of New York and New England, afforded a convenient pretext. 1686

In spite of the general tendency of the times, the city of New York received a charter that was one of the most liberal ever bestowed upon a colonial city in America. It was prepared by Mayor Nicholas Bayard and Recorder James Graham. Mayor, recorder, and sheriff were to be appointed by the governor but the municipal legislature was to be elected by the people. The charter also contained a grant of vacant land in and near the city, by which an immediate income was vested in the municipality. The Dongan Charter

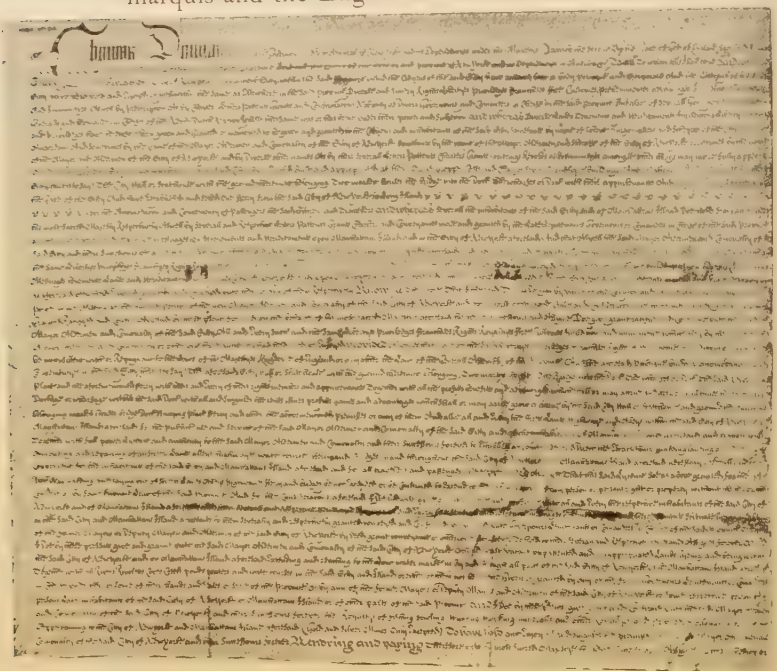
The story of the ending of the New York assembly may be quickly told. The second meeting of the first legislature was begun in 1684. Before the time for a third session came, Charles II. died and Governor Dongan dissolved the body, and issued writs for a new election of representatives. A second assembly met in October, 1685, adjourned to September, 1686, and was prorogued to March, 1687. After Dongan's receipt of his new instructions, this legislature was dissolved by proclamation. Dongan and his council then assumed the power of enacting laws and imposing taxes without regard to the voice of "the people met in general assembly" or otherwise. *By order of the king.* The Passing of the Assembly

August 13, 1685

January 20, 1687

When the French organized an expedition against the Five Nations, Dongan sent word to the Iroquois to bring their women and children within his lines for care and protection. Denonville, the new governor of Canada, despaired of success by conquest and urged his king Dongan and Denonville

1686 to buy the province of New York. Dongan, not to be outdone, urged the annexation of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Jersey to New York. The French marquis and the English colonel understood the value of

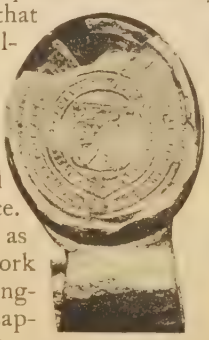


First Page of the Dongan Charter

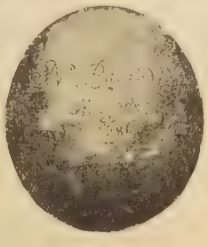
the prize for which their masters were striving. John Fiske says that "no Russian game of finesse on the lower Danube was ever played with more wary hand than the game between these two old foxes. While their secret emissaries prowled and intrigued, their highnesses exchanged official letters, usually polite in form but sometimes crusty, and always lively enough despite the dust of these two hundred years." The correspondence is printed in the New York colonial documents, cited in the bibliographical appendix for this volume.

King James clearly saw that Dutch influence was eliminated from North America, that the struggle for the continent lay between France and England, and that New France, with welded power wielded by a single hand, had an effectiveness that was lacking in his own colonies. Here was reason as well as pretext and he resolved to oppose a viceregal government of British America to the viceregal government of New France. Annexation came, but not as Dongan wished. New York was swallowed up in New England and New Jersey disappeared in the same vortex. Sir Edmund Andros was commissioned as governor-general of the territory from "our province of Pennsylvania and country of Delaware" northward to Canada and Dongan retired to his farm at Hempstead.

1688 The Dominion of New England



Seal accompanying the Dongan Charter



Silver Box in which the Seal is Preserved

When Andros appeared at New York, he received a public welcome fitting his viceregal station. It needs little fancy to see how expected offices filled the vision of the old-time retinue and spurred former favorites to work up the shoutings of the populace. The seal of the province of New York was broken in the council; the great seal of New England was thereafter to be used. When Andros returned to Boston, he took the most important part of the New York records with him and left Francis Nicholson as lieutenant-governor of New York. About a month later, William of Orange landed with an army in England. In December, King James fled to France. In February, 1689, the English revolution had been accomplished and London was foremost in professing loyalty to the new sovereigns. In April, the Bostonians rose in insurrection and held the governor-general a prisoner in the hands of their committee of safety.

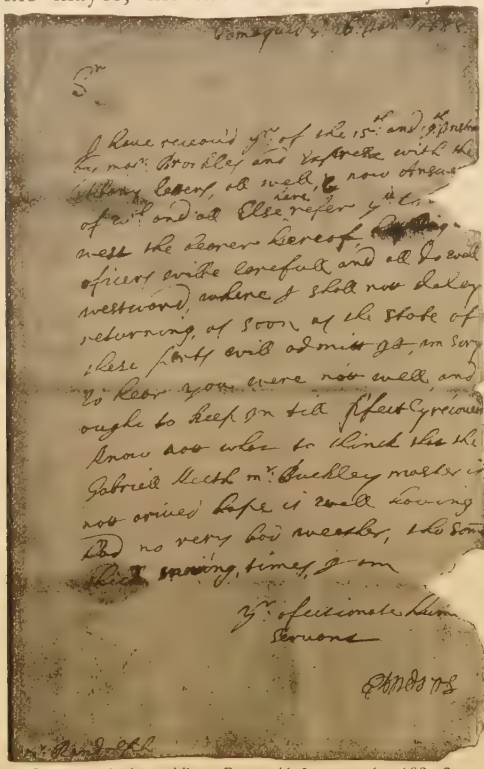
Andros again Comes and Goes August 11

October

November

1689 A Little Cromwell

Of course, there was great rejoicing among the New York Dutch when they learned that their countryman had been raised to a throne. Nicholson called together the mayor, the members of the city council, and the officers of the militia. The work of fortifying New York against the expected French was begun, and for a time the little town took on the aspect of a camp. Among these militia officers was Captain Jacob Leisler, a prosperous merchant who had the courage of his convictions and a willingness to assume responsibility. The people were exasperated by the shilly-shallying of the council and harassed by dreams of papist massacre; the militia was kept in agony by the terrors of French invasion and William and Mary had not yet been proclaimed. Nicholson and his council were not equal to the difficulties of the day.



Letter by Andros while at Pemaquid, January 26, 1688–89

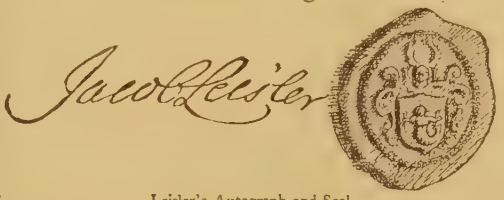
Nicholson and Leisler

At Leisler's call, the train-bands met; six captains and four hundred men signed a pledge to hold the fort for

King William. Nicholson made a merit of necessity, 1689
gave up his administration, and sailed for England. Leisler was left in supreme command at Fort James

Great Seal of New England under Andros

which he renamed Fort William. While Nicholson was homeward bound, a commission as lieutenant-governor July 30
of New York was sent to him with instructions from the king. In December the package was given Leisler, as the person who, for the time being, took "care for Preserving the Peace and administring the Lawes in our said Province." Leisler proclaimed the new monarchs and, after his receipt of Nicholson's commission and instructions, did it anew, "Scotland being formerly omitted." In the following



Leisler's Autograph and Seal

June 22

1690 February, he issued writs for a new assembly that met in the following April. The story of the doings and the fate of our "Little Cromwell" and of the province that he had seized in the name of the Protestant monarchs will be told in a later chapter.

CHAPTER V

NEW JERSEY

1664 1688

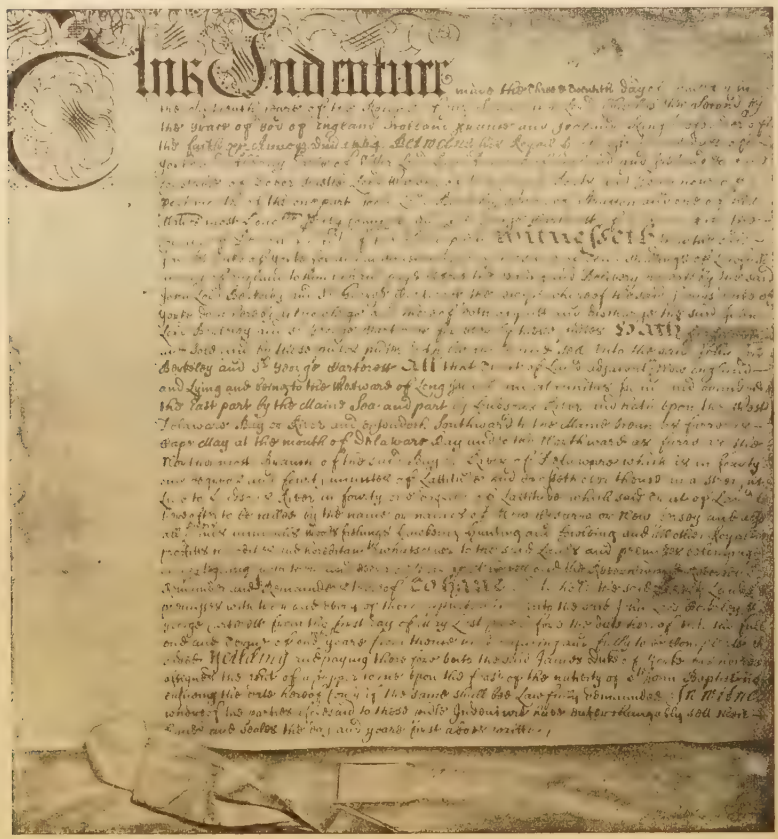
IN 1664, the duke of York conveyed to Sir George Carteret and John Lord Berkeley, brother of the testy governor of Virginia, an ill-described "tract of land adjacent to New England" and "to be called by the name or names of New Cesarea or New Jersey." The original documents are now in the possession of the New Jersey Historical Society. The name was in commemoration of Carteret's defense of the Island of Jersey in the English Channel against the Cromwellian forces. Although the Dutch had made settlements at Weehawken, Pavonia, Bergen, and on the Delaware, and John Printz had held rule from the mouth of the Schuylkill to the capes of Henlopen and May, New Jersey was almost a wilderness. The transfer was made in June; the Dutch did not give up New Netherland until the following September.

An English Duke divides a Dutch Province

The newly created province differed from most of the English colonies in that it did not immediately rest upon a royal grant. From this fact arose a question of historical importance, namely, did the proprietors of New Jersey possess political powers or had they secured only a title to the soil? As a matter of English law, a royal charter was the only sufficient basis for the exercise of governmental powers; as a matter of fact, the grant of New Jersey by the duke of York would have been almost useless unless such powers were conferred. From the first, the proprietors assumed that they had such

A Pivotal Point

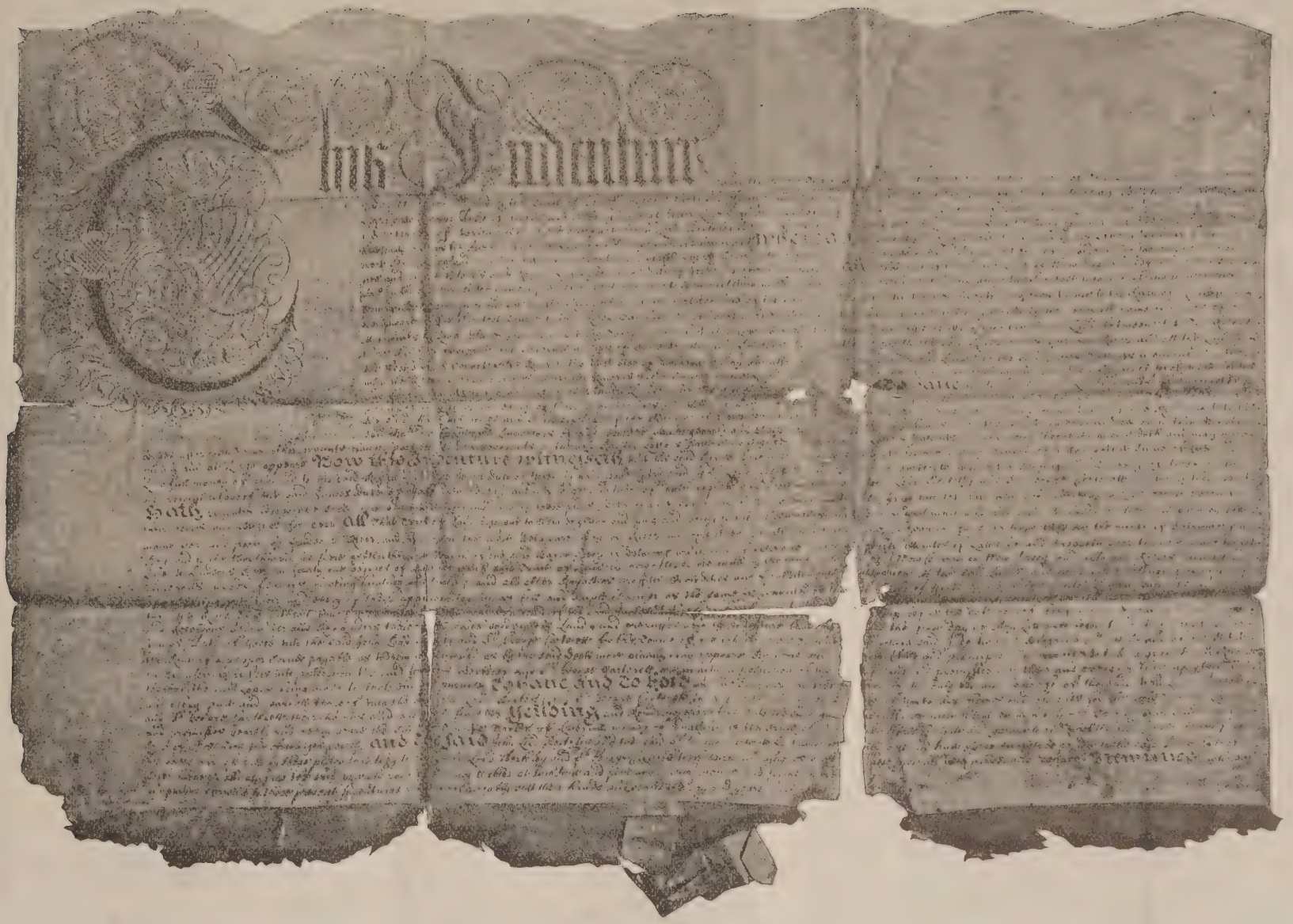
1664 powers. The duke acquiesced in the assumption and the
1665 king expressly approved it. The right was, however, long disputed and the struggle that hinged thereon


This Indenture

Lease from the Duke of York to Berkeley and Carteret, June 23, 1664
(From the Original in the Collection of the New Jersey Historical Society)

added a peculiar piquancy to early New Jersey history and, to a large extent, determined its character.

In 1665, Berkeley and Carteret published "The Concessions and Agreements" of the proprietors, a plan



THE RE-LEASE FROM THE DUKE OF YORK TO BERKELEY AND CARTERET

(From the original in the collection of the New Jersey Historical Society)

very like that issued at almost the same time by the Carolina proprietors. The government was to consist of a governor, a council appointed by the governor, and an assembly of twelve representatives chosen annually by the freemen. No tax was to be levied except with the approval of the assembly and freedom of conscience was guaranteed. The people accepted the "concessions" as their first constitution, the great charter of their liberties. In the previous year, a party of Long Island English had bought of the Indians a large tract of land on Newark Bay, later known as "the Elizabethtown purchase." Ignorant of the release of New Jersey by the duke of York, Nicolls ratified the transfer and made other grants that laid the foundation for much litigation.

1665

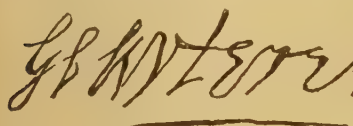
The New Jersey Concessions

October 28, 1664

Seal of Berkeley and Carteret

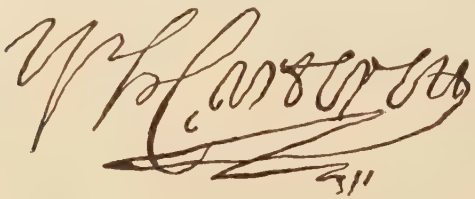
On the day of signing the concessions, the proprietors commissioned Philip Carteret as governor of New Jersey. He sailed in April, 1665, with about thirty adventurers, servants, and supplies. Late in July or early in August, their ship anchored off the point now known as Elizabethport. A few days after that, the party marched inland to the

Governor Carteret



Autograph and Seal of George Carteret

1665 chosen site, the governor at the front carrying a hoe upon
1670 his shoulder as if to symbolize the dignity of labor. Lands were allotted, a capital for the province was begun, and soon a cluster of four houses was called Elizabethtown in honor of Lady Carteret. In 1666, emigrants from New Haven who had little liking for annexation to Connecticut secured the Indian title to the site of Newark. Abraham Pierson who, in 1667, led nearly all of his flock from Branford, was chosen minister of their church.

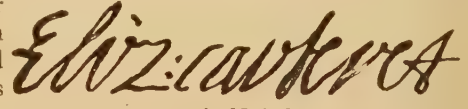


Autograph of Philip Carteret

The first New Jersey Assembly

The concessions so well met the wants of the people that representatives were not chosen until 1668. The delegates met at Elizabethtown on the twenty-sixth of May. The council insisted on sitting as a separate house where its members could not be outvoted by the delegates. On the fifth day of its session, the assembly adjourned to the following November. On the fourth day of the November session, the assembly adjourned *sine die* and sent this explanation to the governor and council: "We, finding so many and great Inconveniences by our not setting together, and your apprehensions so different to ours, . . . think our way rather to break up our meeting." We have no authentic record of another meeting of the New Jersey assembly for seven years. The inhabitants of the settlements where lands were held under the grant from Nicolls insisted that the deputies who professed to represent them in the assembly of 1668 were not legally elected and refused to publish the laws enacted by that body or to permit their enforcement within their limits. Still, things went fairly well until March, 1670, when the

May 30



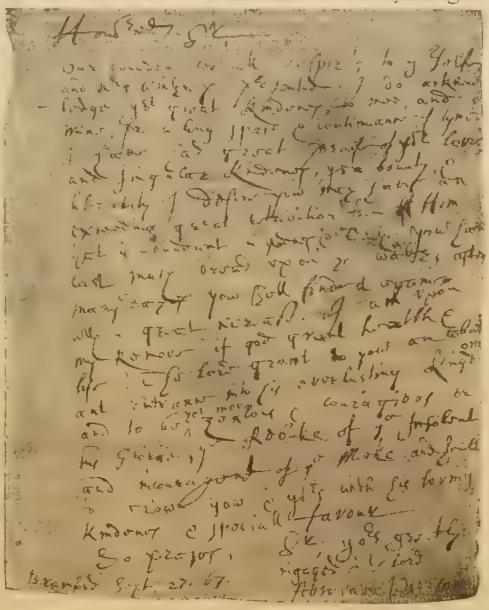
Autograph of Lady Carteret

Land and Rent

collection of quitrents was seriously attempted. Payment was refused, confusion followed disaffection and for two years ruled the province. 1672

On the twenty-sixth of March, 1672, deputies of the several towns came together but the governor and council refused to recognize them as an assembly. Another meeting was held at Elizabethtown in the following May. By the terms of the concessions, the assembly might "appoint themselves a president during the absence of the governor, or the deputy-governor." As recognition was still refused, the deputies did choose a president not for "themselves" but "a president of the country." James Carteret, the young and frivolous son of the proprietor, was on his way to Carolina and chanced to be in New Jersey. The deputies chose this young man to take the place of Philip Carteret who appointed John Berry as his deputy and hastened to England. Sir George Carteret sent orders to his son to vacate his usurped authority and the king commanded obedience to the proprietary government. England had no disposition to trifle with a New Jersey insurrection and the

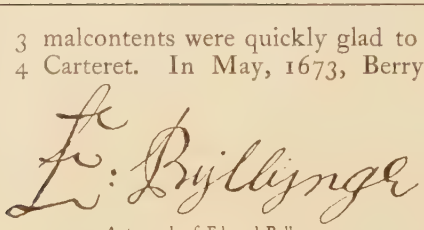
A New Jersey Insurrection



Letter by Abraham Pierson, September 27, 1667

July 1

1673 malcontents were quickly glad to see the back of James
1674 Carteret. In May, 1673, Berry was acknowledged as deputy-governor and he of the bar-sinister hurried to Virginia. With the coming of Evertsen and the short-lived Dutch interregnum, New Jersey was given the pretty name of Achter Kol. When New Netherland went through the throes of second death, Berkeley and Carteret were again clothed with power and title.



Autograph of Edward Byllynge

The Division of New Jersey

In March, 1674, Lord Berkeley sold his undivided-half interest in New Jersey for one thousand pounds to John Fenwick apparently in trust for Edward Byllynge, both Quakers. The deed cannot now be found. The sale led to a division of the province and the duke granted to Sir George Carteret, individually, by indentures of lease and release, all of the province north of a line drawn from a "certaine Creek called Barnegatt . . . to a certain creek in the Delaware river next adjoining to and below a certain creek in Delaware river called Rankokus Kill;" the eastern terminus of this line was

July 29 = August 8, 1674

Map of New Jersey, Showing Division Lines of 1674, 1687, and 1743

about fifteen miles north of the present Atlantic City and the western end, a short distance below Burlington. The original of this lease is in the possession of the New Jersey Historical Society. Philip Carteret returned as governor of East Jersey and at Bergen (now Jersey City) met the council and commissioners from all the towns but Shrewsbury. His instructions from the new proprietor were published together with a letter from the king commanding obedience "to the laws and government which are or shall be established" by Sir George Carteret. The first recognized assembly since that of 1668 convened at Elizabethtown on the fifth of November, 1675. Thereafter annual sessions were held with some regularity for several years. 1674 1676 November 6, 1674

A Quaker Province

Fenwick and Byllynge had difficulty in determining their respective interests in West Jersey and called in William Penn as arbitrator — the first appearance of that name in American history. Penn awarded one-tenth (the "Salem tenth") of the purchased half, with a certain sum of money, to Fenwick and the other nine-tenths to Byllynge. Byllynge was soon obliged to assign his nine undivided tenths to William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, and Nicholas Lucas, all Quakers, as trustees for his creditors. Fenwick's tenth was soon in the hands of the same trustees. Shares were offered for sale and speculators bought acres by the hundred thousand. In 1675, Fenwick and a company of Quakers landed near the site of the old Swedish Fort Elfsborg and called the place Salem "for it seemed the dwelling place of peace." No other settlers came to West Jersey for two years. In spite of the duke's grant, the duke's New York governor had Fenwick arrested but he could not refute the Quaker's clear title and had to liberate his prisoner. It was so evident that, in the division of New Jersey in 1674, Carteret had received more than a fair share of the province, that another agreement, known as the quintipartite deed, was made. The dividing line between East New Jersey and West New Jersey was to be run from "the most southerly point of the east side of Little Egg

February 14, 1674–75

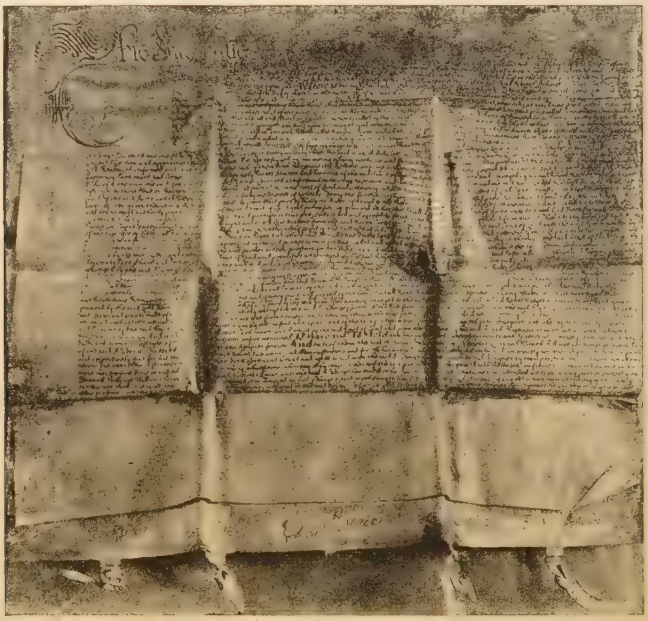
The Quintipartite Deed

July 1–11, 1676

1676 1677 Harbour" to what was called the northernmost branch of the Delaware River. The line was run in 1743 by John Lawrence, a prominent surveyor of that time. After 1676, the proprietors of the two provinces acted independently of each other.

Quaker Democracy

In 1677, "The Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the Province of West New Jersey in America," signed by William



The Quintipartite Deed
(From the Original in the Collection of the New Jersey Historical Society)

March 3, 1676= March 13, 1677

Penn (who probably prepared the document) and a hundred and fifty others, was published in England. This first example of Quaker legislation gave full recognition to the principle of democratic equality. The proprietors put all power in the hands of the people, it being their purpose, "by the help of the Lord, and by these our Concessions and Fundamentals, that all and every Person

and Persons Inhabiting the said Province, shall, as far as in us lies, be free from Oppression and Slavery." Then began a Quaker exodus from England where these people were at the mercy of every malignant informer. With a Quaker company from London and one from Yorkshire, went commissioners clothed with temporary power. 1677 1680

In West Jersey

After delay at New York and compromise with Governor Andros, the two hundred and thirty emigrants were in the Delaware by August, 1677. Lands were bought of the Indians and a settlement was made at Burlington. Reinforcements followed and the new Quaker plantations made greater growth in two or three years than the earlier settlements had done in ten. The settlers on Fenwick's tenth had no part in these "concessions" and the New Castle agent of the duke of York collected customs of the ships that sailed up the river to West New Jersey. Fenwick refused to make the demanded payments and the question was referred to a commission which decided that the tax was illegal. The duke acquiesced in the decision and the light of peace dawned upon the province.

In East Jersey

After the death of Sir George Carteret in January, 1680, the New York governor's treatment of New Jersey was more arrogant than before. In March, Andros demanded that Governor Carteret should record his authority at New York. When he proclaimed the abrogation of Carteret's government, Carteret sent back answer that he and his council were constrained "to put ourselves in a Posture of Defence." On the seventh of April, Andros and his council appeared at Elizabethtown and both sides presented their claims to the government of East Jersey. "Then we went to dinner," says Carteret in his account of the interview, "and that done, we accompanied him [Andros] to his sloop and so parted." Carteret was soon dragged from his bed and imprisoned at New York from the end of April to the twenty-seventh of May. The charge was that he "without any lawful Right, Power, or Authority, with Force and arms, riotously and routously with Captain John Berry, Captain

March 8, 1679=March 18, 1680

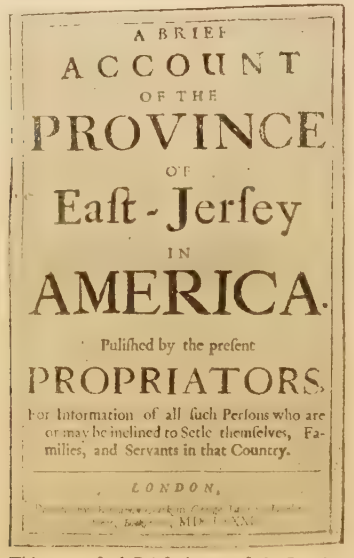
March 20–30

1680 William Sandford, and several other Persons, hath pre-
1681 sumed to exercise Jurisdiction and Government over his Majesty's Subjects within the Bounds of his Majesty's Letters Patents granted to His Royal Highness," and "with Force and arms both endeavored to assert & maintain the same." Andros sent back the jury several times to amend its verdict but the twelve were firm as to "not guilty." Then, with noble courtesy, Andros escorted his guest back to Elizabethtown—and there continued his aggressive measures. Evidently, Andros was not inclined to admit that a grant not from the king carried with it any political power.

Carteret and Andros

In August, 1680, the duke of York surrendered West Jersey to William Penn and others in trust for Edward Byllynge and, in September, he released East Jersey to Sir George Carteret, grandson and heir of the original proprietor. In the following year, Carteret proclaimed the duke's disavowal of the acts of Andros and, about the same time, Andros received his notice to return to England. Although Carteret outsat Andros as governor, his troubles were not at an end. The assembly that convened at Elizabethtown in October, 1681, was given to "such violent altercations" that the governor sent the representatives home contrary to their wishes. In the following year, Carteret gave his governorship into other hands.

March 2, 1681


A BRIEF
ACCOUNT
OF THE
PROVINCE
OF
East-Jersey
IN
AMERICA.
Published by the present
PROPRIATORS,
For Information of all such Persons who are or may be inclined to Settle themselves, Families, and Servants in that Country.
LONDON,

Title-page of *A Brief Account of the Province of East-Jersey*

The death of Sir George Carteret threw his province

of East New Jersey into the hands of trustees for the benefit of his creditors. The province was twice sold; on the second sale, in February, 1682, it went to William Penn, the new proprietor of Pennsylvania, and eleven associates probably all Quakers. In the following month, each of the twelve sold half of his interest so that there were twenty-four joint proprietors. Among these were the earl of Perth, Robert Barclay and his brother David, "High Prerogative men (especially those from Scotland), Dissenters, Papists, and Quakers." This formed a strong combination as was the discreet intent; there was a definite plan on foot to provide homes in America for members of the society of Friends. To the twenty-four the duke of York executed a new release. The seal of the old proprietors bore the arms of Berkeley and Carteret and thus suggested a personal government; the seal of the twenty-four proprietors was impersonal and consisted chiefly of the emblems of justice and plenty with the legends, "Righteousness exalteth a nation. Its God giveth increase."

1682
1684

East Jersey's New Proprietary

Seal of East Jersey

March 14, 1683

Robert Barclay, a Scottish Quaker of high standing and a son of "Barclay of Ury" of whom Whittier has sung, was chosen governor for life. Barclay chose as his deputy a London lawyer, Thomas Rudyard, who came among his five thousand colonists in November. The assembly convened at Elizabethtown, divided the province into four counties, created courts, and revised the penal code. In July, 1683, Gawen Lawrie, one of Byllynge's trustees, was commissioned as Rudyard's successor. Lawrie took the oath of office late in February, 1684, and soon wrote to the proprietors in England: "There is not a poor body in all the province nor that wants," and urged measures for an increased

Barclay, Rudyard, and Lawrie

Autograph of Robert Barclay

March 1, 1683

1684 immigration. But Governor Dongan of New York was renewing the efforts of Andros to compel the annexation of East Jersey, a policy that was soon made practicable by the accession of "the slippery duke" to the English throne.

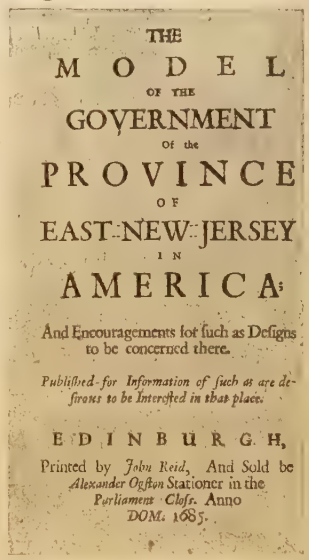
Autograph of Gawen Lawrie

The American Board of Proprietors

In 1682, the proprietors had promised to make such additions to the concessions "as shall be thought fit for the encouragement of all planters and adventurers," the assurance of a proprietary purpose to be "rather the servants than masters controlling the principles of government which were becoming active in New Jersey." In 1683, they prepared a new organic law, the so-called "Fundamental Constitutions," designed to supersede the old concessions. They were brought over sea by Lawrie who was instructed to "order the new scheme of government passed in an assembly." The new code had no effect on the practical workings of the East Jersey government. Several of the proprietors now lived in East Jersey and the "American Board of Proprietors" was

August 1 formed with ample power "to do all things that may contribute to the good and advancement" of the province. The action of the proprietors harmonized with the wishes of the people. A few

November 25 months later, another act gave the American board more ample powers and the people of East Jersey freer self-direction.

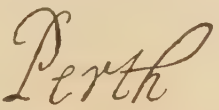


THE
MODEL
OF THE
GOVERNMENT
Of the
PROVINCE
OF
EAST-NEW-JERSEY
IN
AMERICA:
And Encouragements for such as Designs to be concerned there.
Published for Information of such as are desirous to be Interested in that place.
EDINBURGH,
Printed by *John Reid*, And Sold be *Alexander Ogston* Stationer in the *Parliament Close*. Anno *DOM.* 1685.

Title-page of *The Model of the Government . . . of East-New-Jersey*

A new town, first called Amboy Point and then called Perth in honor of one of the proprietors, was given an impetus by the efforts of this board who expected it to become the chief town and seaport of the province. It gradually came to be called Perth Amboy and was made the seat of government. When the first assembly met there, the deputy-governor submitted the "Fundamental Constitutions" with unwelcome conditions concerning a resurvey of lands already granted, provision for a permanent revenue, etc., and asked what answer they would make. The sense of the council was "that the same did not agree with the constitution of these American parts" and the deputies answered that they "apprehended the same did not agree with the constitution of this province and that they understood that the same were no wise binding, except passed into a law by the general assembly." The deputy-governor did not press the matter nor did the proprietors insist. "The people of East New Jersey had determined that by their own authority their organic law should be."

1686 An Imperial Mandate



Autograph of the Earl of Perth

April 12

April 19

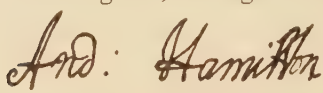
The personal relations between Lawrie and Dongan were more pleasant than had been those between Carteret and Andros. The New York and New Jersey boundary line was amicably discussed and its terminal points on the Hudson and the Delaware were agreed upon. But Lawrie did not make money for the proprietors fast enough to meet their expectations and, in June, 1686, Lord Neill Campbell was appointed as his successor. The new deputy-governor had fled from Scotland to East Jersey; his brother, the earl of Argyle, had been beheaded a year before. As the earl of Perth was one of the jury that found the earl of Argyle guilty of high treason, it is evident that private prejudices were not allowed to interfere with pecuniary interests.

Campbell Succeeds Lawrie

As if in ignorance of the quintipartite deed of 1676, the governors of the Jerseys appointed arbitrators to determine the boundary line between the two provinces.

Surrender of the East Jersey Patent

1681 1688 In 1687, George Keith ran the line according to the award from Little Egg Harbor to John Dobie's. The line raised a clamor in West Jersey and was rectified by legislation in 1718. In less than a year, Campbell sailed for England, leaving Andrew Hamilton as his substitute.



Autograph of Andrew Hamilton of New Jersey

Although King James had, as duke of York, thrice confirmed to others all his rights in New Jersey, he did not stickle at a legal quibble about the delegation of governmental powers. The proprietors of East New Jersey thought it prudent to make terms with the inevitable and to save the soil when the king took back the rule. A surrender of the patent, so far as the government was concerned, was made in April, 1688. The province at this time had a population of about ten thousand.

West Jersey

In England, the proprietors of West New Jersey chose Edward Byllynge as governor and he chose Samuel Jennings as his deputy. Jennings appeared in his province in September, 1681, and, in November, the first general assembly, consisting of the governor, the council, and the assembly, met at Burlington. Subsequent meetings were held in May and September, 1682, and in May, 1683. It appears that Fenwick acknowledged the established government for he had sold his lands to Penn and was a member of the assembly that met at Burlington in 1683. From England came frequent messages of love and counsel. "You that are governors and judges, you should be eyes to the blind, feet to the lame, and fathers to the poor." George Bancroft has declared that the formation of this little government is one of the most beautiful incidents in the history of the age. Into this picture of peace and prosperity came Governor Byllynge with claims of proprietary rights.

Byllynge and the Assembly

Byllynge proposed to remove Jennings from office and the assembly, acting as the representatives of the Quaker democracy of West New Jersey, elected Jennings as governor of the province. In March, 1684, Jennings

went to England to try to make a satisfactory settlement of all matters in dispute. In London, Jennings and Byllynge referred their differences to a commission of prominent Quakers a majority of whom could find no authority for a governor elected by the people and awarded the government to Byllynge. In 1687, Byllynge died and Doctor Daniel Coxe of London, one of the most sanguine of colonial promoters, bought his interest in the province from his heirs and appointed Edward Hunlocke as deputy-governor. 1684 1688

The Surrender of West Jersey

William Penn and other Quakers had large interests in the eastern moiety of New Jersey and Penn had obtained a charter for the territory that still bears his name. It was, therefore, natural that when, in 1688, the proprietors of East Jersey gave up their charter, the proprietors of West Jersey should acquiesce in a similar arrangement. Sir Edmund Andros, then governor-general of New England, received a new commission that extended his government over New York and both of the New Jersey provinces with Francis Nicholson at New York as his lieutenant-governor. When Andros was cast down from his little throne in Boston and James II. fled from his bigger throne in London, the New Jersey proprietors were unable to pick up the rights that they had been forced to drop—if indeed they tried to do so. From the beginning, both of the Jerseys had been looked upon as merchandise for sale or barter—shuttlecocks of proprietary revenue and profit. From this time until 1692, the settlers, Puritans and Quakers, were left to care for themselves, their private interests, and the public welfare.

CHAPTER VI

PENNSYLVANIA

1681
1689
William Penn in Youth

CLOSELY connected with the Fenwick and Byllynge quarrel in West Jersey was the founding of a mighty commonwealth. The soil in which the seed was planted was warmed by the ruddy glow of court favor for the son of Admiral Penn, one of the conquerors of Jamaica, and, under the duke of York, commander of the fleet in the great battle with the Dutch in 1665. William Penn, the admiral's son, was born in London in the year in which Fox began to preach. At Oxford, the young man was much impressed with the preaching of Thomas Loe, a Quaker. He gradually neglected the Anglican worship, was fined for nonconformity, and, with or without reason, was "banished" from Oxford. The angry father turned the disgraced culprit out of doors, only to call him back and to send him to Paris where the Quaker stamp was well rubbed out. Penn returned, says Pepys, "a most modish person, grown . . . a fine gentleman."

October 14, 1644

1662

Penn becomes a Quaker

1666

After an abbreviated study of the law and military service as a volunteer in Ireland, young Penn again met Thomas Loe and was fully converted to the Quaker faith. The father again turned his son out of doors, "to choose between poverty with a pure conscience, or fortune with obedience." Young Penn began to write and speak and, "in such rough schools of statesmanship as the Old Bailey, Newgate, and the Tower," imbibed broad and liberal views that controlled his action to the

end of life. In 1670, came the death of his father, with whom he had become reconciled, and the inheritance of a great estate. In 1672, Gulielma Maria Springett, a beautiful and noble woman, "chose him before all her many suitors." In 1677, he visited continental Europe in company with George Fox, Robert Barclay, and others who were on a religious mission to Holland and Germany. The acquaintances thus formed played an important part in the later turning of the tide of German emigration toward Pennsylvania. 1681

William Penn in Armor (Age Twenty-two)

A part of his inherited estate was a claim against the crown for about sixteen thousand pounds — a very large sum according to the money value of that day. In June of 1680, Penn asked for a grant of territory west of the Delaware River and extending from Maryland northward, a region on which George Fox had fixed his thoughts as the site of a Quaker colony in America. The needy king thought this an easy way to pay a debt that really had been repudiated in 1672 and Penn was something of a courtier as well as something of a saint. The duke of York gave friendly aid, perhaps in remembrance of the admiral's service in the tight pinch of the naval battle, and the charter was issued.

The Pennsylvania Charter

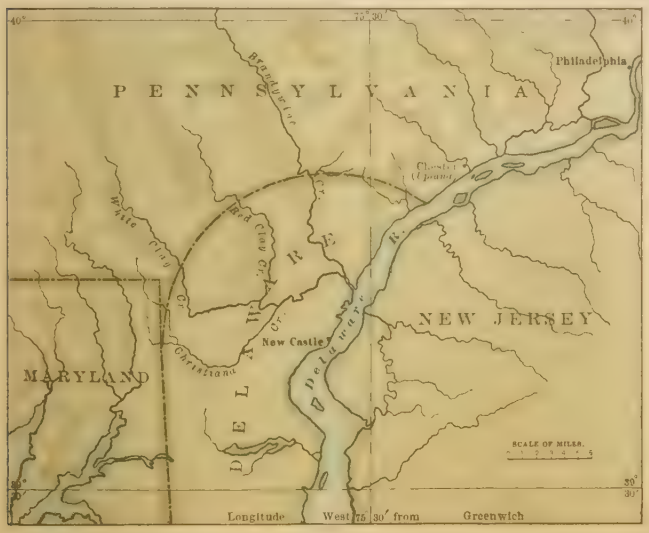
March 4, 1680 = March 14, 1681

1681 The Pennsylvania Grant

The royal grant conveyed a domain larger than Ireland, one of the greatest ever given by an English king to an individual, and the repository of unimagined natural resources. The new province was to extend from the Delaware River westward through five degrees of longitude, "the said lands to bee bounded on the North by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of Northern latitude, and on the South, by a Circle drawne at twelve miles distance from New Castle Northwards and Westwards unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of Northerne Latitude and then by a streight Line westwards, to the Limitt of Longitude above menconed." The boundaries thus described were ambiguous in more respects than one. The northern line was designated as "the beginning of the three and fortieth degree" and elsewhere in the same charter as "the three and fortieth degree." Did this mean the forty-third parallel of northern latitude or the southern edge of the zone between the forty-second and the forty-third parallels? The former interpretation (on which Penn later insisted) would have thrown Albany, modern Troy, and Buffalo into Pennsylvania. The southern boundary question was still more complicated. If "the beginning of the three and fortieth degree" really signified the forty-second parallel, then, of course, "the beginning of the fortieth degree" would mean the thirty-ninth parallel. Such an interpretation would give the western shore of Delaware Bay and the head of Chesapeake Bay to Penn, who sadly needed ports

George Fox's Watch-seal and Wax Impression Thereof

for a province that had no seacoast. But Lord Baltimore claimed to the fortieth parallel, an interpretation that would have thrown Philadelphia into Maryland. The circular arc mentioned in the charter could not be drawn "Northwards and Westwards" to the fortieth 1681



Map of the Pennsylvania and Delaware Boundary

parallel because the twelve-mile radius was eight or nine miles too short. The underlying ignorance of the geography of the territory granted was the cause of prolonged litigation and of the peculiar boundary line of southeastern Pennsylvania as it exists today. As the occasion of boundary disputes, Penn's charter was more fruitful than any other in American history.

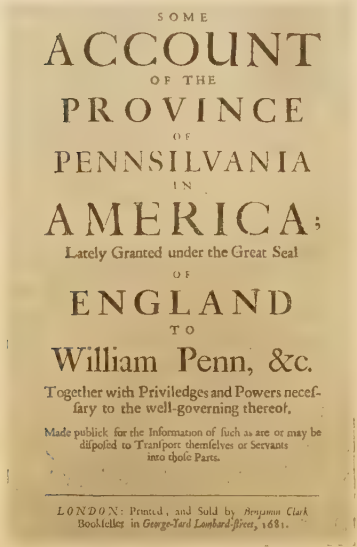
Penn's Proposals

Penn's charter was drawn in imitation of the one that had been given to Lord Baltimore fifty years before. But there were two important variations: the enactments of the Pennsylvania assembly required royal approval and the English parliament could levy taxes upon Penn's colonists. Although his state was less regal than that of

1681 Lord Baltimore, Penn had the right to govern and to give general shape to the policy of his province. The king made proclamation of the patent and the proprietor

April 8 sent a letter to the settlers already in his province, saying: "You shall be governed by laws of your own making, and live a free, and if you will, a sober and industrious people." Penn promptly issued a pamphlet advertisement of his province and of his plans for its government. He believed "any government to be free to the people under it (whatever the frame) where the laws rule and the people are a party to the laws." With deep consideration and probably with the wise counsel of Algernon Sydney and others, he prepared for Pennsylvania its first constitution or "Frame of Government."

Penn's Deputy


SOME
ACCOUNT
OF THE
PROVINCE
OF
PENNSILVANIA
IN
AMERICA;
Lately Granted under the Great Seal
OF
ENGLAND
TO
William Penn, &c.
Together with Priviledges and Powers neceſſary to the well-governing thereof.
Made publick for the Information of ſuch as are or may be diſpoſed to Tranſport themſelves or Servants into thoſe Parts.
LONDON: Printed, and Sold by *Benjamin Clark* Bookſeller in *George-Yard Lombard-ſtreet*, 1681.

Title-page of Penn's *Some Account of the Province of Pennsilvania*

Penn's proposals attracted the attention of Quakers and "many were drawn forth to be concerned with him." His pamphlet was reprinted at Amsterdam and circulated in the Rhine districts; many Mennonites and others of the sober, thrifty kind became settlers in Pennsylvania. So extensive was the move-

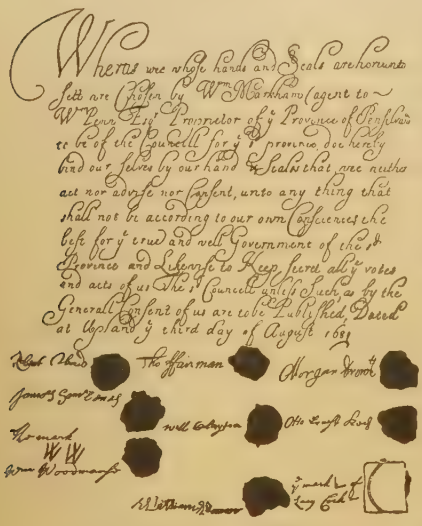
July 11 ment that, in July, he executed the paper called "Certain Conditions or Concessions." His expenses had been large and he doubtless needed money but when he was offered six thousand pounds and an annual revenue for a monopoly of the Indian trade, he declined it. To a friend he wrote: "I would not abuse His love, nor act unworthy of His providence, and so defile what came

to me clean." Penn first sent out his cousin, William Markham, as deputy-governor, and later appointed commissioners to assist him. Early in July, Markham established his headquarters about fifteen miles below the site of Philadelphia at a village then called Upland, now known as Chester. Two or three shiploads of settlers soon arrived in Pennsylvania and among them were the commissioners with friendly letters to the Indians and the Swedes and instructions to select a site "where it is most navigable, high, dry, and healthy; that is, where most ships may best ride," and there to lay out a city with a garden around each house so as to form "a greene country town." 1681

Autograph and Seal of William Markham

For Penn, the development of his province was "an holy experiment," and he worked out the solution of his problem with great painstaking. There are still preserved about a score of different drafts of his proposed constitution or "Frame of Government." The successive copies manifest a progressive development of political ideas from the crude first to the one that he finally adopted. Even the last was marred

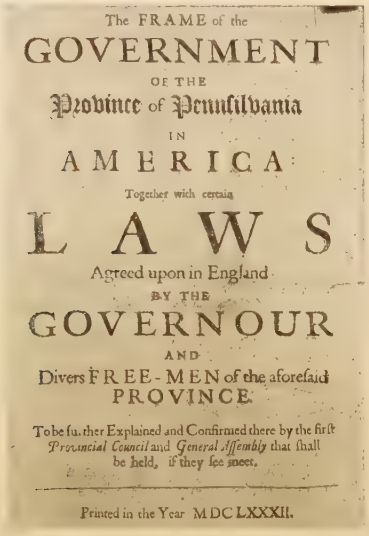
The first Constitution of Pennsylvania



Oath and Signatures of the Members of Markham's Council

1682 by a confusion of legislative and executive powers that was "a monstrosity in politics" even in that time. Penn's

April 25 "Frame of Government" prescribed a governor, a provincial council, and an assembly. The council was to consist of seventy-two freemen. For the first year, the assembly might consist of all the freemen of the province; after that, "not exceeding two hundred" delegates were to be chosen annually, "which number of 200 shall be enlarged as the country shall increase in people, so as it do not exceed 500 at any time." The governor was to preside over the council and with them all laws were to originate. The chief duty of the assembly was to pass judgment on bills that were thus proposed. Ten days later, Penn and the prospective freemen of the province agreed on a code of forty laws that were to be submitted for vivifying approval to the first assembly that convened in Pennsylvania.

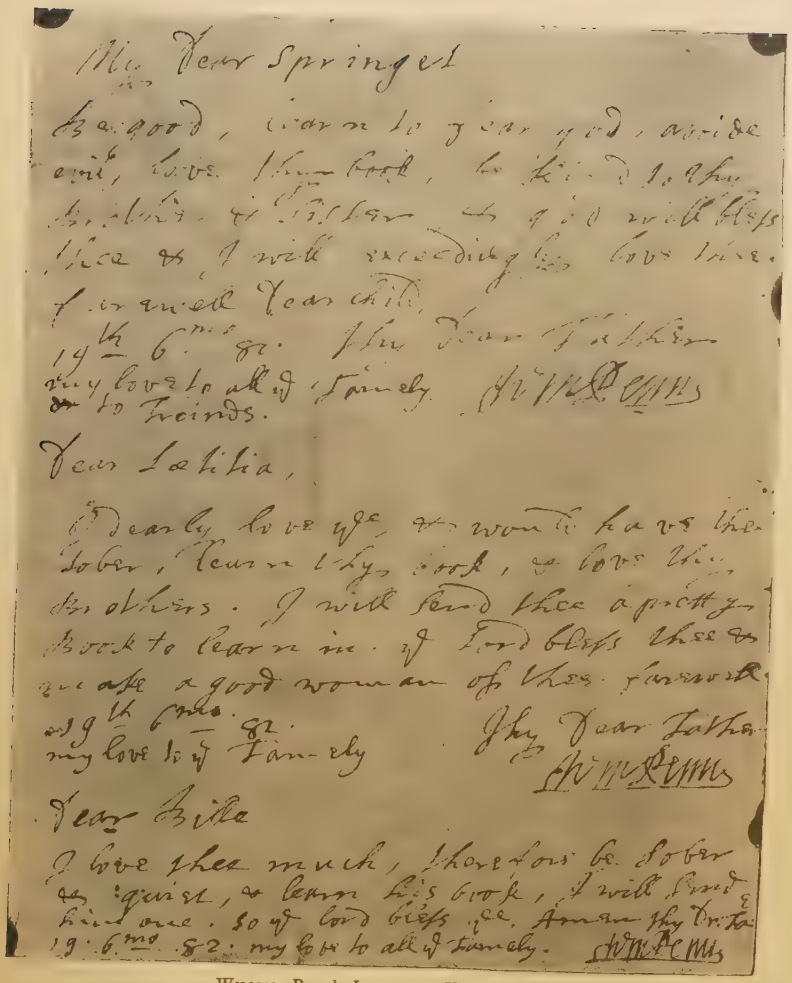

The FRAME of the
GOVERNMENT
OF THE
Province of Pennſilvania
IN
AMERICA
Together with certain
LAWS
Agreed upon in England
BY THE
GOVERNOUR
AND
Divers FREE-MEN of the aforeſaid
PROVINCE.
To be further Explained and Confirmed there by the firſt *Provincial Council* and *General Aſſembly* that ſhall be held, if they ſee meet.
Printed in the Year MDCLXXXII.

Title-page of Penn's *Frame of Government*

May 5

Penn Secures the Delaware Counties

In August, 1682, the duke of York deeded to Penn his claims to Pennsylvania with the town of New Castle and the country twelve miles around it and the three lower (Delaware) counties, all of which, since the seizure of New Netherland, had been held as appendages to the province of New York. Having thus secured a needed seaboard for his province, Penn prepared to sail for America. On the last day of August, 1682, the good ship "Welcome," a vessel of about three hundred tons and sometimes styled "The Mayflower of Pennsylvania,"



My Dear Springet

be good, learn to fear god, abide evil, love the book, be kind to the children of Israel & god will bless thee & I will exceedingly love thee. Farewell Dear child.

19th 6mo 82. thy Dear Father
my love to all ye family. Wm Penn
& to friends.

Dear Lelitia,

I dearly love ye, & would have ye be sober, learn thy book, & love thy brothers. I will send thee a pretty book to learn in. ye Lord bless thee & make a good woman of thee. Farewell
19th 6mo 82.
my love to ye family

thy Dear Father
Wm Penn

Dear Billy

I love thee much, therefore be sober & quiet, & learn his book, I will send thee one. so ye Lord bless ye. Amen thy Dr. Fa
19: 6mo. 82: my love to all ye family. Wm Penn

William Penn's Letter to His Children

1682 sailed out of the Downs on her way to the western world. On board were William Penn and about a hundred other passengers. On the voyage, smallpox broke out and many of the passengers died. A landing was made at

Penn at New Castle

New Castle on the seventh of November and, with formal, feudal ceremony, the attorneys of the duke of York delivered the town and the country for twelve miles around to the new proprietor. The welcoming settlers, mostly Dutch and Swedes, assembled at the court-house. Penn made an address on the nature of government and renewed the commissions of the magistrates. The population of these "lower counties" was then about five hundred.

Penn in Pennsylvania October 29 = November 8

From New Castle, Penn went up the river and entered the tract covered by his royal grant. Back of the narrow strip that bordered the Delaware, Pennsylvania was a forest wilderness. Other than the Indians it had not more than five hundred inhabitants, Dutch, Swedes, Welsh, and English. There were a few hamlets but none of the settlements rose to the dignity of a village unless it was Upland (soon called "Chester alias Upland"), at which place the court was held. Markham

August 3

had already organized his council of nine residents. The site for Philadelphia had been chosen and a residence for Penn begun. Writs were

November 20

issued for the election of delegates to meet at Chester on the fourth of December. The assembly met according to the call and, at the request of its inhabitants, Delaware was united with Pennsylvania. Penn submitted the "Frame of Government" and the code of laws prepared in England. This code, known as the "Great Law," was "more fully worded" and passed. Other measures that Penn proposed were enacted and, at the end of a three days' session, the assembly adjourned. We have Penn's statement that

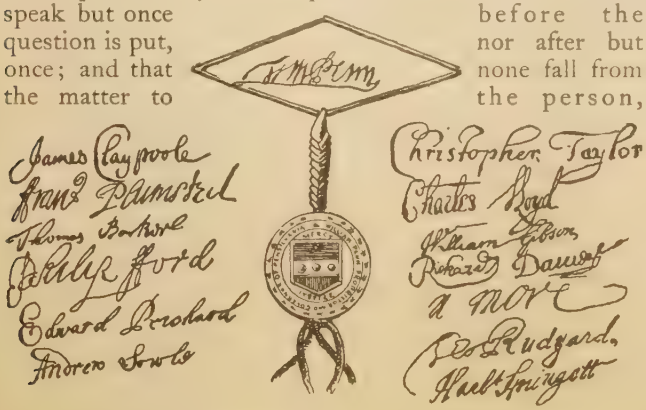
The first Assembly

Letitia Cottage
(Supposedly Penn's First Residence in America)

"Such an assembly for Love, Unity, and Concord scarcely ever was known in and about outward things in those parts." 1682 1683

The brevity of this session of the legislature was made possible by the adoption of the rule that "none speak but once before the question is put, nor after but once; and that none fall from the matter to the person,

Philadelphia Begun



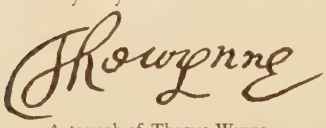
Seal and Signatures affixed to the "Frame of Government"

and that superfluous and tedious speeches may be stopped by the speaker." Before spring, twenty-three emigrant-laden ships came up the Delaware. Through that winter, the founders of Philadelphia lived some in huts or log houses and some in caves dug in the high bank of the river. In the following July, the houses numbered eighty. By the end of 1683, one hundred and fifty houses had been built, several hundred farms laid out, and abundant harvests gathered. There was in Pennsylvania no "starving time" as there was in Virginia and little of the sickness and privation that were so severe and dangerous at Plymouth.

A New Frame of Government

In January, 1683, Penn issued writs for the election of a provincial council of seventy-two members on the twentieth of February and gave notice of the holding of an assembly of the freemen, all as provided by the "Frame of Government," except that the Delaware counties were included in the writs. As such a gather-

1683 ing of the people in assembly was not desirable, the freemen asked that the seventy-two might represent them in both council and assembly, three from each of the six counties in the upper house and nine from each in the lower. Penn granted the petition, which had been suggested by himself, and put all fears at rest by assurance that "they might amend, alter, or add for the Public good." The fifty-four assemblymen organized their body by the election of Thomas Wynne as speaker. By an "Act of Settlement," a temporary measure proposed by the governor and council and passed by the assembly in March, the power of veto and the right of appointing officers were restored to the proprietor. In April, Penn signed a new frame of government which he had drawn up in accordance with the newly constituted general assembly. As thus organized, the government of Pennsylvania was administered until, in the next decade, Benjamin Fletcher came as royal governor.



Autograph of Thomas Wynne

April 2–12

Penn's Policy

Penn's ethical and somewhat democratic plan raised up bitter enemies who finally prevailed against it. The novel combination of equal rights for Jews and Papists, fair dealing for Indians, the barred door for sinecure-seeking "younger sons," and, above all else, the peace policy that recognized no need for arsenals and forts, developed derision and invited attack. This "high ideal of refined Puritanism" was not long enforced but it had a marked effect upon the social standards of the colony. At Oxford, Penn had known the builder of the Carolina "model," but between John Locke and William Penn there is a gulf of two full centuries.

Penn's Treaty

One of Penn's fixed purposes was to allow no land to be occupied until the consent of the Indians had been secured. The emigrants who had come and those who were coming needed land and so, at noon of an uncertain day, fixed by some as in November, 1682, and by others as the twenty-third of June, 1683, Penn met the leading

chiefs beneath the branches of an elm at Shackamaxon, a "place of kings" much used for Indian councils. Shackamaxon became Kensington and is now within the corporate limits of Philadelphia. It is probable that then and there Penn bought Indian lands and that with the transfer went certain verbal agreements. About two months later, Penn wrote: "When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us, of kindness and good neighbourhood, and that the English and Indians must live in love as long as the sun gave light." A century later, a famous artist painted a famous picture that represented the affair as a formal function instead of an ordinary business transaction. Historically, West's picture was "all wrong" but writers accepted it as truth and "wrote up to it"—at least such is the opinion of more than one historian and biographer. The unique feature of the incident is that the agreement made that day was faithfully kept for sixty years. Voltaire pronounces Penn's treaty "the only league between the aborigines and the Christians which was never sworn to and never broken." The "Treaty-tree" was blown down in 1810; a monument near Cramp's shipyard now marks its site. 1683

Seal of the Province of Pennsylvania

Churches

The Swedish churches gradually fell into decay. The only Dutch church was at New Castle. Quaker meetings had been held at Upland (Chester) as early as 1675 and, in 1683, there were nine established Quaker meetings in the province. In July of that year, the first yearly meeting was held at Philadelphia. In 1684, the Baptists established their first church. About this time, a Swedish woman, Margaret Matson, was brought to trial as a witch. The verdict of the Quaker jury was: "Guilty of haveing the Comon fame of a witch but not guilty in

1683 manner and forme as Shee stands Indicted." The woman
1684 was set free under bonds for good behavior. We hear no more of witchcraft in Pennsylvania until the beginning of the next century, and even then the matter was found trifling and dismissed.

Immigrants

Many settlers came from England, Wales, and Ireland, and from the other English colonies in America and the West Indies. Nearly all of these were Quakers or in sympathy with them. In October, 1683, Germantown was begun by a little colony of Germans — the advance guard of a host. The German palatinate had been devastated by the French and thousands were driven from their homes and country by relentless persecution. As devastation followed devastation, wave followed wave from the palatinate to Pennsylvania. The thrift of these German colonists added largely to the prosperity of Penn's plantation.

Growth

In 1684, Philadelphia had three hundred and fifty-seven houses, "large and well built with cellars," and some three stories high with balconies. Brick houses soon appeared and, by 1690, only the poorer classes built of wood. About this time, Penn began the building of a mansion at Pennsbury, his country seat, up the river twenty miles from Philadelphia. In July, 1683, a weekly post was established and, in the following December, the council arranged with Enoch Flower for the beginning of a school. In 1685, William Bradford set up his printing-press, the first in the middle colonies. In one year, ninety ships brought more than seven thousand persons into the province. For New York to attain equal prosperity required a half-century of Dutch occupation. Roads were laid out, bridges were built, and, by 1696, the provincial council was petitioned to restrain hogs from running at large in the streets of Philadelphia.

Penn returns to England

Markham had not been able to agree with Lord Baltimore regarding the boundary and Penn himself was not more successful. In 1684, the Catholic and the Quaker proprietors went to England to guard their respective interests and for other reasons. Entrusting power to

Part of John Harris's Map, Showing Pennsbury Manor

1684 the provincial council, Penn bade a tender farewell to his
1686 people. In November of the following year, the lords of trade decided the boundary question in Penn's favor but, as already recorded, it was eighty years before the line was actually established.

Charges Against Penn

Penn's Clock

1686

"Uniting after a fashion all his own the wisdom of the serpent and the purity of the dove," Penn had succeeded in retaining the friendship of one of the most bigoted of English kings. By virtue of that friendship, he was able to secure the liberation of twelve hundred Quakers from prisons where many of them had been held for years. The strange sympathy between the two almost amounted to an alliance. Men have not yet ceased to wonder at the fraternity and to seek for the secret bond. In spite of his higher ideas, Penn had little inclination to take issue with a patron in whose eyes "it was wholly unreasonable for subjects to ask for any security over and above the good will and good intentions of their ruler." In fact, Penn was more of a believer in a benevolent paternalism than in a genuine democracy. The favor in which he was held at court led to absurd stories of his sympathy with Rome and of participation in alleged Jesuit plots; after the revolution of 1688, he was suspected of complicity in the schemes for the restoration of the deposed Stuart. Probably because he was unwilling to give color to such accusations by his return to America and partly because of his financial embarrass-

William Penn (Age Fifty-two)

ments and the illness of his wife, Penn remained for several years in England. 1687–1688

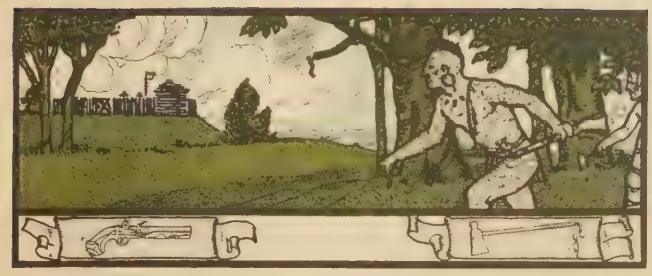
Almost before Penn had reached England, there was a conflict between the Quaker and the non-Quaker factions in Pennsylvania. The newly created legislators quarreled among themselves and their bickerings caused Penn so much pain that he wrote: "For the love of God, me, and the poor country, be not so *governmentish*, so noisy and open in your dissatisfactions." In 1687, Penn substituted a commission of five to attend to his proprietary affairs. The commissioners did not do much better than the council had done and, in 1688, Penn appointed as his deputy, Captain John Blackwell, who at once quarreled with everybody. Penn could not collect his quit-rents from settlers who felt that he did not need them as much as they and he wrote, perhaps more than once: "I am above six thousand pounds out of pocket more than ever I saw by the province." Pennsylvania Factions

Autograph of John Blackwell

At this period of his life, Penn's philanthropy included the white man and the red man but was blind when the black man drew near; the cloak was ample for two but rather scant for three. In 1688, Francis Daniel Pastorius, a lawyer carefully trained in the learning of the day, with other Quakers who had come five years before from the Rhine to Germantown, presented to the Friends' meeting at Philadelphia a written protest against the practice of Christians buying and keeping negro slaves. The original document, drawn up by Pastorius, was found in 1844 and has been printed in facsimile. It is a bold and direct appeal to the best instincts of the heart and is noteworthy as being the first protest from a religious body on the subject of negro slavery. Penn's last will directed the emancipation of his negro bondmen but his heir refused to obey the injunction. Negro Slavery

In October, 1689, official information of the accession of William and Mary arrived at Philadelphia with the unwelcome news that his majesty had ordered "all neces- A Quaker Province

1689 sary Preparations to be made for a speedy warr with the ffrench king." Blackwell, Penn's testy deputy, advised the Quaker council to proclaim the new monarchs and relieved them of embarrassment arising from their inability to yield obedience both to conscience and to king by taking the responsibility for war measures upon his own shoulders. "Inasmuch as they declyned any advice or assistance and had declared so generall a voyce to leave the matter to his discretion, He would consider what was his duty in the case, and Act after the best manner he could accordingly for the preservation of the whole, without further pressing them on this occasion." The proprietor soon relieved Blackwell of the government and authorized the councilors as a body to act as Blackwell's successor and to choose a president. On the second day of the eleventh month of 1689-1690, the council unanimously accepted the commission as Penn's deputy and elected Thomas Lloyd as president.



CHAPTER VII

THE KING PHILIP WAR

FOR nearly forty years New England had been free from Indian war but in 1675 a long smoldering fire blazed up as a consuming flame; we do not know just what breath fanned the embers. In the days of Massasoit, chief of the Wampanoags and faithful ally of the Plymouth English, and of Canonicus, chief of the more formidable Narragansett tribe and friend of Roger Williams, there was room and to spare for both the white man and the Indian. But Canonicus died in 1647 and Massasoit in 1660, and in the rapid growth of the English population their successors saw a menace of expulsion or annihilation. The sons of Massasoit had been taken to Plymouth and given English names. Thus Wamsutta was christened Alexander and Metacomet took the name of Philip. In 1662, Alexander was summoned to Plymouth where he was seized with a fever. Taken home at his own request, he soon died.

1671 1678

The Son of Massasoit

Thus Philip became "king" of the Wampanoags. His home was at Mount Hope, the peninsular range of hills in the present town of Bristol in Rhode Island. In 1671, Plymouth demanded that all the English arms in the possession of his tribe should be given up; some were surrendered and some were kept back. Three years later, the Plymouth governor heard from John Sassamon, a "praying Indian," that Philip was endeavoring to unite the neighboring tribes in an exterminating war against the English. Sassamon was murdered and

Rumor

1675 the crime was traced to three Indians. Two of the murderers were hanged in June and the other one was shot.

Reality

Not far from Mount Hope was Swansea. On their

Map of New England at the Time of the King Philip War

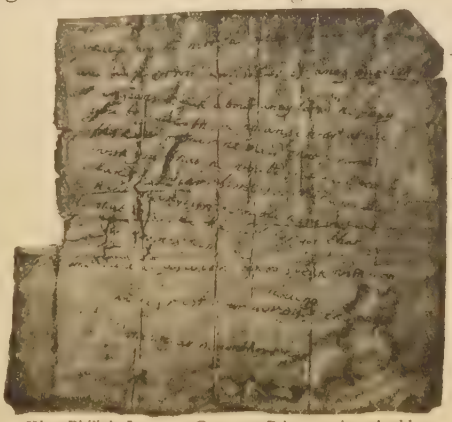
way home from a "humiliation meeting," the Swansea

June 24

people were attacked and that day several of them were killed. It was the bloody prologue to a long story of burning and massacre. Massachusetts and Plymouth troops hastened toward Mount Hope and Philip crossed to Pocasset where Tiverton now stands. Thence the red avengers hastened toward Plymouth, falling upon the settlements at Dartmouth, Middleboro, and Taunton, burning the houses and butchering the inhabitants. At

this time, Canonchet, son of Miantonomo and sachem of the Narragansetts, was the most powerful Indian chief in New England. In July, a new treaty of friendship was negotiated with the Narragansetts and an attack on Mendon showed that in the Nipmucs Philip had active allies. 1675

July 14



King Philip's Letter to Governor Prince, written by his Secretary, John Sassamon, a Christian Convert, 1663

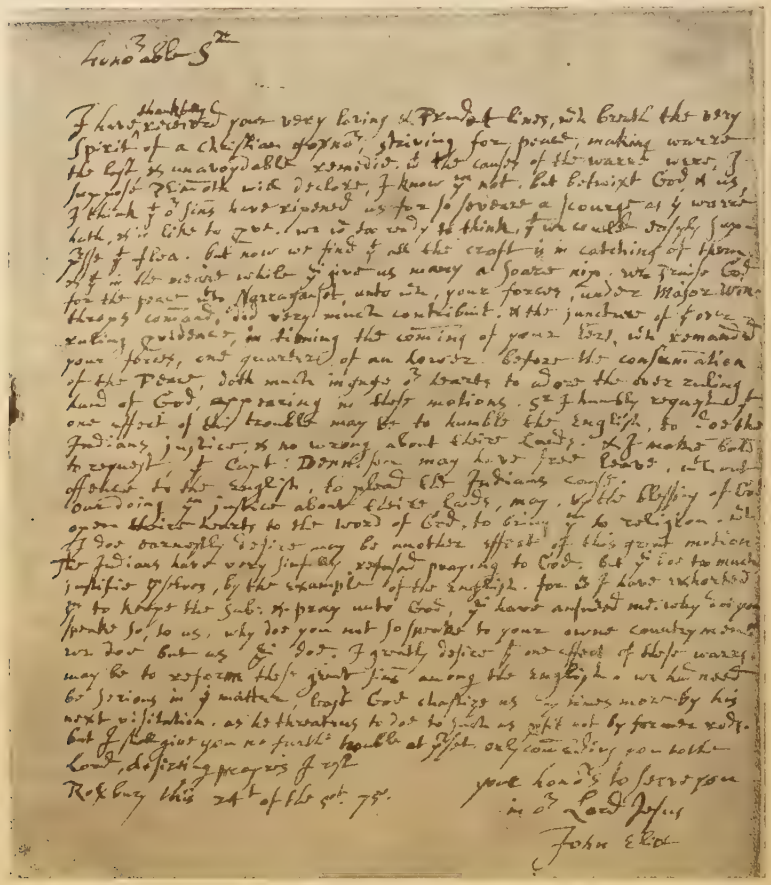
In Western Massachusetts

Hoping to make a treaty with the Nipmucs like that lately concluded with the Narragansetts, Governor John Leverett of Massachusetts sent a score of troopers under Edward Hutchinson, son of the unfortunate Anne, to hold a conference with them at "a plain within three miles from Brookfield," then the only English settlement in central Massachusetts. The Indians were not at the trysting-place; Hutchinson and the troopers went to find them and fell into an ambush. Eight were killed and several wounded; the survivors hastened back to Brookfield and gave the alarm. Men, women, and children to the number of seventy hurried to the only house that was fit for defense. The buildings on the outskirts of the town were burned and a furious attack was made upon the feeble garrison. In the night following the third day of fighting, Major Simon Willard, aged seventy, with forty-seven armed horsemen, galloped into town. There was warm work for a time but at daybreak not an Indian was seen.

August 2

This movement of Philip turned the war from Plym-

1675 outh toward the exposed towns on the Connecticut, the defense of which rested more immediately upon the standing council of war at Hartford. On the first day of Sep-



Letter by John Eliot

The Attack on Hadley

tember, the greater part of the garrison at Hadley was absent from the town and the inhabitants were engaged in observing a fast. Suddenly were heard the cries of

the furious foe. The men in the meeting-house seized their arms and quickly formed in line to meet the fearful odds. The onset was so furious that even English husbands and fathers wavered and fell back. Now was one of those crises that comes not more than once to many men. This moment shall decide for victory or worse than death. Suddenly there appeared an aged man in ancient garb and with the voice of one accustomed to command. Whence or who, one neither knew nor had time to ask. As the unknown drew his sword, his commanding aspect and quiet intrepidity proclaimed him to these devout Puritans as their Moses sent of God. At his word the wavering lines reformed. Together they advanced and so well did pike and musket do their work that the Indians were soon in flight while the English pushed them hotly to the woods. When the chase was given up, the strange apparition had vanished. No one saw him come; no one saw him go. Unknown to the people, Colonel Goffe, the regicide judge, was concealed in their minister's house. While they were at worship, he had noticed the stealthy approach of the Indians, was seized once more with the ardor of the Cromwellian era, rushed forth to win one more victory for the people of his God, after which he went into retirement from which, so far as we know, he never again emerged. This pretty story of

1675 An Historic Romance

Miniature Portrait of Governor John Leverett

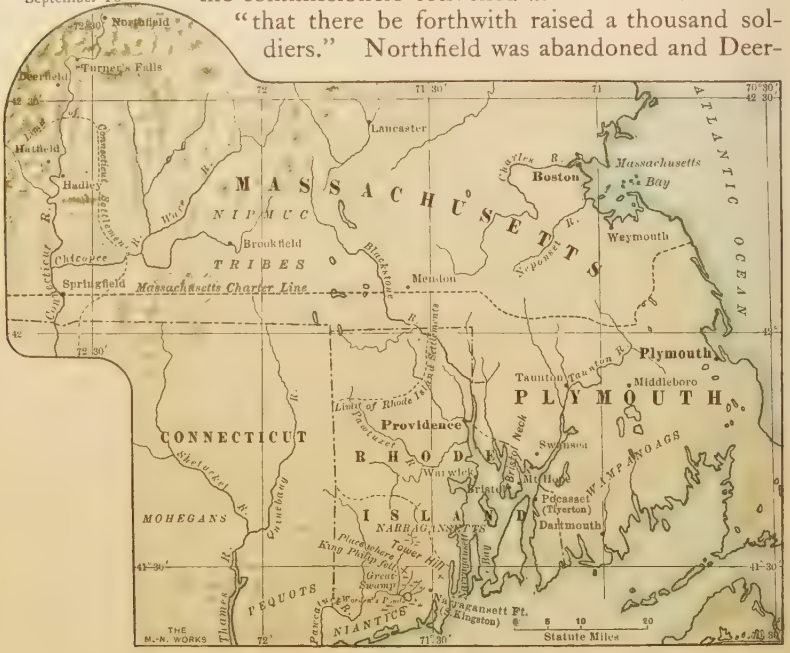
Goffe, the Guardian Angel

1675 the "guardian angel of Hadley" has been given by most of our historians since 1764. Although the tradition of Goffe's meteoric transit is probably a pure romance, it has intrinsic beauty and can do no harm.

Heroisms and Atrocities

Although the New England confederacy that had been established in 1643 was now weak and languishing, the commissioners convened at Boston and ordered "that there be forthwith raised a thousand soldiers." Northfield was abandoned and Deer-

September 16



Map of English Settlements in Massachusetts and Rhode Island at the Time of the King Philip War

field was broken up. Wagons and teamsters and a convoy of ninety men were sent from Hadley to bring in

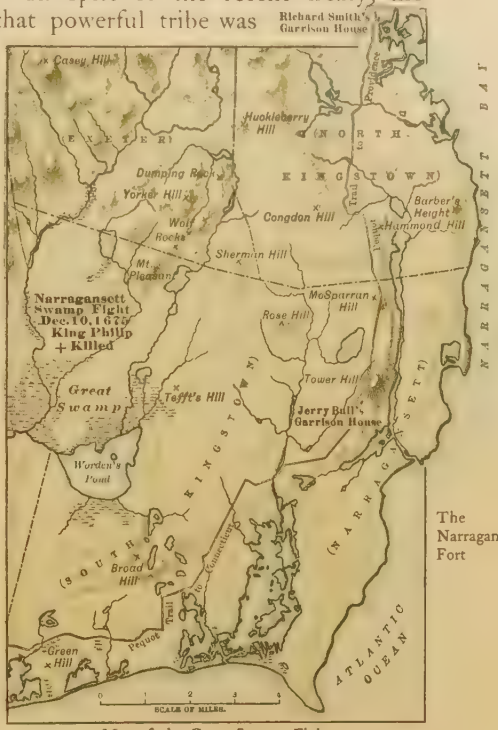
September 18

the grain left at Deerfield. On their return, they fell into ambush; not more than eight escaped. While the Indians were scalping the victims, they were suddenly charged by Captain Moseley who had heard the firing and hurried thither with his company. The fight thus

renewed raged from eleven o'clock until night, when Major Treat arrived with one hundred English soldiers and about sixty Mohegan warriors and drove the hostile Indians off. In October, Springfield was attacked and Hatfield was assaulted, after which the Indians seem to have withdrawn toward the country of the Narragansetts. In spite of the recent treaty, the active hostility of that powerful tribe was threatened. 1675

Autograph of Robert Treat

On the second of November, the commissioners of the united colonies decided to raise another force of a thousand men. The command was given to Josiah Winslow, governor of Plymouth, with Major Robert Treat of Connecticut second in rank. By the eighteenth of December, Winslow was in the country of the hostile Narragansetts. The forces were ordered to rendezvous at the house of Jerry Bull but, before their arrival, that garrison was destroyed by the Indians. The troops had to sleep in the snow, provisions were giving out, and orders were given for an immediate advance though the



Map of the Great Swamp Fight

The Narragansett Fort

1675 next day was to be Sunday. The Narragansett fort included five or six acres of dry ground, surrounded by

Pynchon House, built in 1660, at Springfield

a swamp and defended by palisades and felled trees. Its only entrance was by a bridge made of a felled tree and commanded by a blockhouse. Within were not fewer than thirty-five hundred Indians.

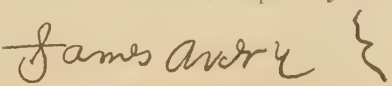
The Swamp Fight

Josiah Winslow

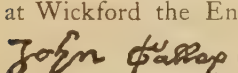
After marching eighteen miles through deep snow and without waiting to take food or rest, the English began the attack soon after noon. After the battle had raged with varying fortune for two or three hours, a party made an entrance at what Mather calls "a vulnerable heel yet left in the fort at one corner," and the fighting

became hand to hand. Six hundred wigwams were burned, a costly blunder; "many old men, squaws, and children perished, some of them in the flames." How many of their warriors fell is not known. Winslow's loss was seventy killed and a hundred and fifty wounded, but he had the victory. The Pequot allies were led by Captain James Avery of New London; Captain John Gallop, who led the Mohegans, was slain. The burning of the wigwams left no shelter for the wounded, and to Richard Smith's garrison house at Wickford the English were forced to march by night and through snow that deepened as they went, much as the French came back from Moscow. Here the little army had to linger for weeks, a vessel that had been sent with provisions from Massachusetts furnishing the men with scant rations. The power of the Narragansetts had been greatly weakened but King Philip and Canonchet were still at large.

1675



Autograph of James Avery



Autograph of John Gallop

The commissioners of the united colonies called for another thousand men and an expedition set out from Richard Smith's for a five days' raid into the Nipmuc country. Philip had gone westward, seeking the aid of the formidable Mohawks, and the Narragansetts and the Nipmucs had become active allies with Canonchet as their ablest chief and guiding spirit. Lancaster was almost destroyed and the memorable captivity of Mrs. Rowlandson was begun. The course of devastation then turned toward the east and came as near to Boston as Weymouth. In March, marauding parties swept Rhode Island and destroyed all the English houses between Narragansett Bay and Pawcatuck River. As spring came on, the activity of the Indians increased. Many towns were sacked and burned and several English parties were ambushed and nearly annihilated.

The Winter's Work

January 28, 1676

February 10

The terror inspired by the Indian outbreaks made many unwilling to leave their homes unguarded and,

The Execution of Canonchet

1676 in May, Massachusetts prescribed heavy penalties for the avoidance of military service. In the preceding October, the Connecticut general court had practically put that colony under martial law. In February, 1676, at a meeting of the Connecticut council, there was order to Captain James Avery, Captain George Denison, and Lieutenant Minor "to rayse some forces to surpriz or destroy the enemie." On the twentieth of March, they set out from Norwich and, on the sixth of April, attacked the enemy in the Narragansett country. It was the first of a series of such forays. The Indians were defeated and forty-five were killed or captured. Among the prisoners was Canonchet. As this now dreaded sachem was held to have forfeited all claim to mercy by "his perfidy in respect to the late treaties," he was taken to Stonington and executed by the Pequot and Mohegan allies of the English.

Turner's Falls

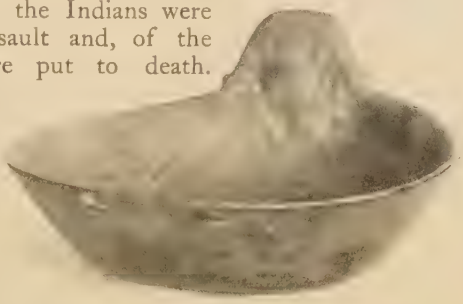
May 18

In May, Captain Turner, with one hundred and eighty mounted men, made a night march twenty miles northward from Hatfield and at daybreak surprised an Indian camp near the upper falls of the Connecticut. Many of the red men plunged into the river, were swept over the falls and drowned, or swam across to be met by fatal bullets from the further shore. The Indians lost three hundred men, the English only one. That day's work gave the name to Turner's Falls. But the fate of war was fickle, for another Indian force was soon in hot pursuit. The story that Philip was coming with a thousand bred a panic. Turner was killed and back to Hatfield Captain Holyoke led one hundred and forty. Then the fighting spirit of the Puritan rose to its highest pitch and turned the tide of war. In this month, Governor Berkeley proclaimed Nathaniel Bacon a rebel. It was a year of turmoil in Virginia as well as in New England.

Puritan and Pilgrim Pluck

In the summer of 1676, the English heard that Philip was on his way to Mount Hope. The country was scoured in search and Major Talcott with three hundred mounted men overtook about three hundred Narra-

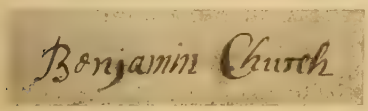
gansett Indians in a Narragansett swamp. There was little mercy; many of the Indians were killed in the first assault and, of the prisoners, ninety were put to death. Philip's negotiations for Mohawk aid had ended in failure. The Indians had little opportunity for hunting or fishing or planting and the last year's store of corn had been consumed. The inevitable exhaustion of their food supply pointed out the impossibility of barbarian success. Every fight brought English victory. The Indians broke up into small parties and the war became a chase. Harassed by defeat after defeat, Philip sought safety at his home. 1676



King Philip's Samp Bowl

One day, Philip's uncle was killed and his sister captured. The next day, his wife and son and one hundred and fifty of his followers were taken. On the third of August, more were killed and forty prisoners taken. An Indian who counseled Philip to submit to the English was killed for his advice. The brother of the murdered man offered to lead the English to Philip's retreat. By midnight, Captain Benjamin Church was at Bristol Neck; before dawn, every avenue of escape from the swamp was well guarded and a company fired a volley into the Indian camp. In attempting to escape, Philip was shot through the heart; the Indian war in southern New England was at an end. The head that had planned the war was cut off and exposed upon a pole at Plymouth; two copper-colored hands soon awakened devout thanksgiving at the firesides of Boston. On the theory that Philip was a rebel against Charles II., his body was quartered, the punishment prescribed for treason. The

Philip's Death July 31

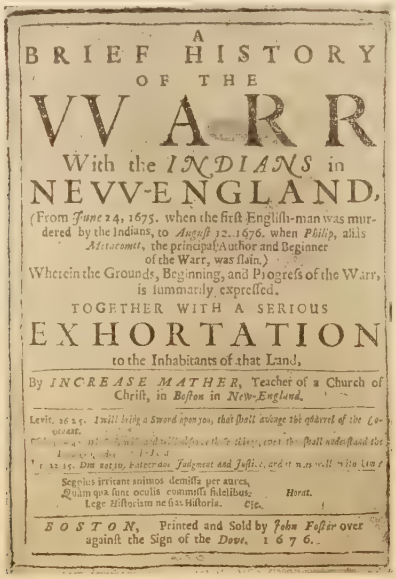


Autograph of Benjamin Church

August 12

1676 clergy were consulted, the Old Testament was examined, and the dead chieftain's wife and child were sold as slaves in Bermuda.

The War in Maine



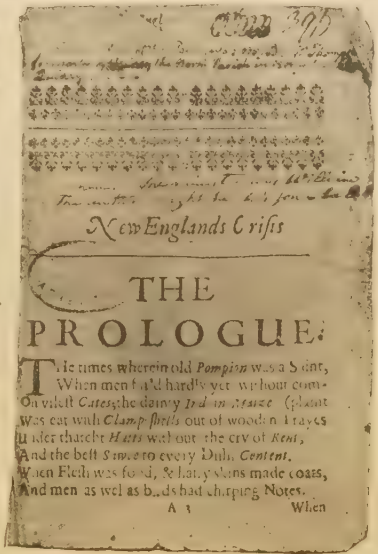
A
BRIEF HISTORY
OF THE
WAR
With the *INDIANS* in
NEW-ENGLAND,
(From *June* 24, 1675. when the first English-man was murdered by the Indians, to *August* 12. 1676. when *Philip*, alias *Metacomet*, the principal Author and Beginner of the Warr, was slain.)
Wherein the Grounds, Beginning, and Progress of the Warr, is summarily expressed.
TOGETHER WITH A SERIOUS
EXHORTATION
to the Inhabitants of that Land,
By *INCREASE MATHER*, Teacher of a Church of Christ, in *Boston* in *New-England*.
Levit. 26 25. *I will bring a Sword upon you, that shall avenge the quarrel of the Covenant.*
Deut. 32 25. *Dies autem, Interdum Judgment and Justice, and shall not stand the Lord.*
Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures,
Quàm quæ sunt oculis commissa fidelibus. *Horat.*
Lege Historiam ne fias Historia. *Etc.*
BOSTON, Printed and Sold by *John Foster* over against the Sign of the *Dove*. 1676.

Title-page of the Earliest General History of the King Philip War (of which only about six copies are now extant)

News of the war in southern New England reached the eastern Indians and roused them to active hostilities. In three months of 1675, eighty Englishmen were killed between the Piscataqua and the Kennebec, but December's snow forced a respite. The Massachusetts authorities assigned to Major Richard Waldron and an inadequate force the task of protecting the weak and scattered settlements in that region. Some of Philip's warriors found their way to the Indians of Maine and were as firebrands in flax. Every English settlement between Casco Bay and the Penobscot was destroyed. Massachusetts sent a hundred and thirty soldiers and forty Indian allies to Dover where they were met by troops from the neighboring towns. Thither four hundred uninvited Indians came with offers of negotiation.

September 16 By a bloodless stratagem, two hundred of them were seized and sent to Boston; seven of these were executed as murderers, the others were sent to Bermuda to be sold as slaves. The Indians accused Waldron of gross treachery and kept the affair well in mind. This eastern war was late in its beginning but it was long drawn out.

In April, 1678, Indian chiefs met Massachusetts commissioners at Casco and entered into a treaty that put an end to the war. Ruin brooded upon the site of almost every settlement beyond the Piscataqua. 1676


New Englands Crisis

THE PROLOGUE.

The times wherein old *Pompion* was a Saint,
When men fa'd hardly yet without compunction
Or vi&t *Cates* the dainty *Indian* Saint
Was eat with *Clamp-shells* out of wooden Trayes
Under thatcht *Huts* without the cry of *Rent*,
And the best *Sawce* to every Dish, *Content*.
When Flesh was found, & hairy skins made coats,
And men as wel as birds had chirping Notes.

When

First Page of Tompson's Poem commemorating the King Philip War

The Character of Philip

The character and policy of Philip have been variously estimated. In the minds of some, he was a sagacious patriot who foresaw the extinction of his people by the English. Others attribute his outbreak to the "caprice of an unreasoning and cruel barbarian" and push forward the well-worn arguments by which, for generations, the spoliation of the American aborigines has been justified. According to the view now generally accepted, Philip was the instigator and diplomatist of the movement rather than the commander-in-chief of the barbarian forces. Whether the war was the result of deliberate and organized action or not, its strength was formidable and its results were almost crushing.

The Cost and the Reward

Rhode Island sent no troops to the war but Warwick was destroyed and Providence was injured. Connecticut did not shrink from her share of the cost but her settlements were scarcely touched by the enemy. The great burden of the misery fell upon Plymouth and Massachusetts. Ten or twelve of their towns were wholly destroyed and forty more were partly burned. Their fighting population had been decimated and scarce a

1678 family was without its scar of sorrow. Massachusetts was strong in men and money but Plymouth was nearly ruined. More than half of her towns had been partly or wholly destroyed and her debt was greater than the value of the personal property of her people. But by years of industry and frugality, she paid her debt, principal and interest, just what we should expect from the children of their fathers. "Divers Christians in Ireland" sent almost a thousand pounds but the English king and his court withheld all aid and expressed no sympathy. Plymouth, poor and weak, coveted a charter that she never got; Massachusetts craved no royal favor but neglect and even that was denied. In this hour of universal gloom, illumined only by the consciousness of the favor of the King of kings and by the sturdy resolution born of such consciousness, England added an attack upon the chartered rights of the people.

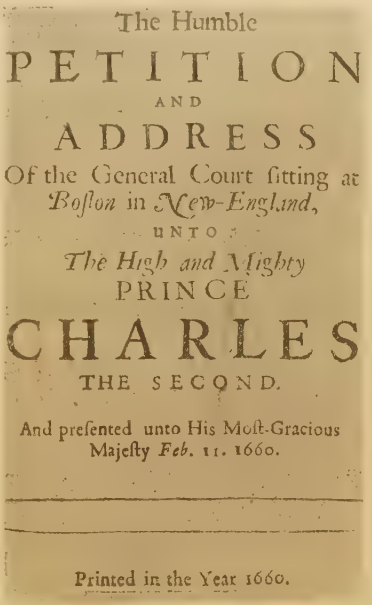
CHAPTER VIII

THE DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND

ENGLISH history was making fast, when, in March, 1689, Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts died. But the New England colonies had a beacon-blaze in their own country from which no European tragedy could tempt their gaze; toward it, step by step and year by year, they were persistently advancing. When parliament, then synonymous with power, ordered the Massachusetts magistrates to send their charter back to England, the general court sent instead a memorial to parliament and a letter to Cromwell and managed to keep on good terms with both.

1650 1689

Beacon and Goal


The Humble
PETITION
AND
ADDRESS
Of the General Court ſitting at
Boſton in *New-England*,
UNTO
The High and Mighty
PRINCE
CHARLES
THE SECOND.
And preſented unto His Moſt-Gracious
Majeſty *Feb.* 11. 1660.
Printed in the Year 1660.

Title-page of Endecott's *Humble Petition*

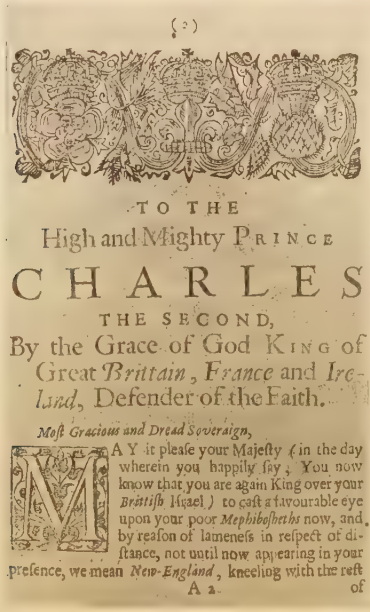
In July, 1660, came to Boston the regicide judges, Whalley and Goffe, news of the Stuart restoration, and rumors of a governor-

Firm Diplomacy

1661 general for New England. The Massachusetts general court assembled, sent addresses to parliament and king, and denied the right of appeal to England. A benignant letter from the king was followed by a declaration of colonial rights including the right of rejecting "any parliamentary or royal imposition prejudicial to the country and contrary to any just act of colonial legislation."

December 19, 1660

June, 1661



TO THE
High and Mighty PRINCE
CHARLES
THE SECOND,
By the Grace of God KING of
Great *Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith.

Most Gracious and Dread Soveraign,

MAY it please your Majesty (in the day wherein you happily say, You now know that you are again King over your *Brittish Israel*) to cast a favourable eye upon your poor *Mephibosheths* now, and, by reason of lameness in respect of distance, not until now appearing in your presence, we mean *New-England*, kneeling with the rest of

A 2

First page of text of Endecott's *Humble Petition*

A Petition of Ill-Omen

On the fourth of March, 1661, the new council for foreign plantations summoned Captain Thomas Breedon who testified that the laws of Massachusetts were contrary to those of England, that the colonists "look on themselves as a free state," and that there was a necessity for settling the country there in due obedience to the king. Then came petitions from persons in New England who had sorely suffered through the tyranny of those in power. The petitioners asked for the laws of England and a governor-general. In the following month, the council for foreign plantations reported that the governments of New England had transgressed their powers by legislation and administration repugnant to the laws of England, that they did not manage their trade to the advantage of the crown, and that they were otherwise acting "as if they intended to suspend their absolute obedience to the king's authority."

April 30

A Royal Promise

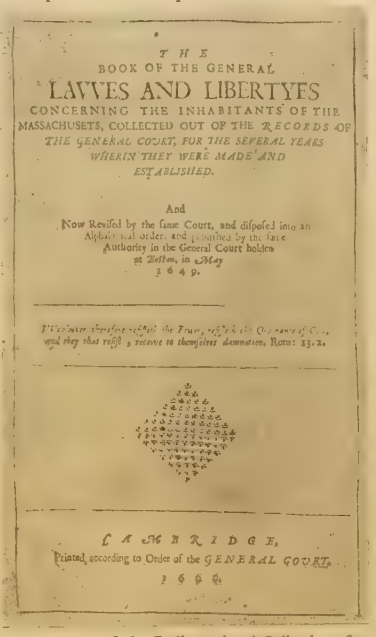
For a score of years, the New England colonies had

been free from English interference, but now there was a sense of grave responsibility. Charles II. was proclaimed at Boston "amid the cold observation of a few formalities." Norton and Bradstreet were sent to England to answer complaints against the colony. They returned in the following year with a letter from the king promising that "we will preserve and do hereby confirm the patent and charter heretofore granted unto them [the people of Massachusetts] by our royal father of blessed memory, and that they shall freely enjoy all the privileges granted unto them in and by the same."

1662 — August, 1661 — September, 1662 — June 28, 1662

This confirmation and a promise of pardon were conditioned upon the administration of justice in the king's name and the repeal of all laws "contrary and derogatory to our authority and government." It was also required that the use of the book of common prayer "be not denyed," that persons "of good and honest lives and conversations be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper" and their children to baptism, and that the suffrage should no longer be restricted to Congregationalists. These terms recall to mind the Child memorial of 1646. There also came a peremptory order for the surrender of the regicides. From Clarendon's point of view, these demands

The Conditions


THE
BOOK OF THE GENERAL
LAWES AND LIBERTYES
CONCERNING THE INHABITANTS OF THE
MASSACHUSETS, COLLECTED OUT OF THE RECORDS OF
THE GENERAL COURT, FOR THE SEVERAL YEARS
WHEREIN THEY WERE MADE AND
ESTABLISHED.

And
Now Revised by the same Court, and disposed into an
Alphabetical order, and published by the same
Authority in the General Court holden
at Boston, in May
1649.

CAMBRIDGE,
Printed according to Order of the GENERAL COURT.
1649.

Title-page of the Earliest printed Collection of Massachusetts Acts and Laws

1663 were moderate but, for the Massachusetts Puritans, "the question of obedience was the question of liberty." The demands were published by the general court and obedience was postponed for a more convenient season.

The Gathering Storm

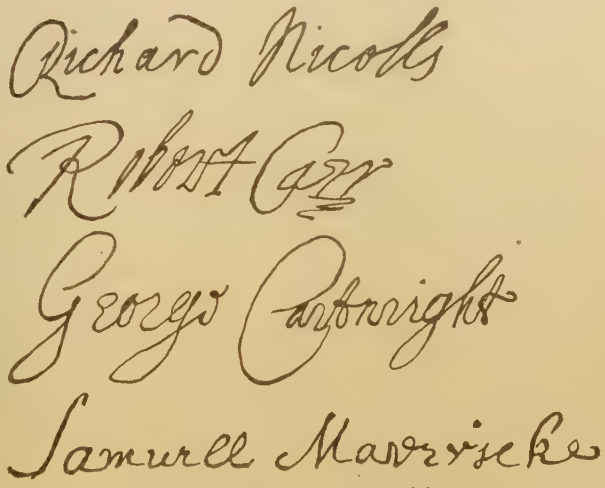
The people received the king's message with consternation and the parties of prerogative and of freedom were born. Norton pined under the loss of popular favor, fell in a fit, and died. It was commonly judged that the unkind resentment of the people "did more than a little hasten his end." Episcopacy now appeared as the ally of monarchy and a "distrust of all dissension from the established form of dissent" seized upon the great majority. In England, Mason and Gorges were loud in their allegations of injury, there were the Quakers with stories of countless cart-tail scourgings, and there was Samuel Shattock. The regicides were protected rather than surrendered and the king was thus led to lend a readier ear to charges and complaints. But Charles II. did not need any provocation. The home government had already entered upon its general policy of drawing the reins tighter, of securing a more efficient control of the colonies beyond the sea. This policy was the real secret motive of the pernicious activity of the British ministry during this period.

April 5

S. Bradstreet

When, early in 1664, Boston heard that royal commissioners and English men-of-war were on the way, a day of fasting and prayer was appointed. In May, the charter and its duplicate were entrusted to four good men for secret and safe keeping, the militia was reviewed, and the castle at the entrance to the harbor was attended to. In July, the royal commissioners, Nicolls, Carr, Cartwright, and Maverick, arrived with their open orders for the reduction of the Dutch of New Netherland and their private instructions to bring the New England colonies into complete subjection to the crown. In September, the Massachusetts general court forbade complaints to the commissioners, who then were in New York but who they knew would come back. In October, they sent to their "Dread Soueraigne" an address pathetic in its pleadings and almost bristling in its resolution. It spoke of the commissioners as four persons clothed with arbitrary power and "one of them [Maverick] our knowne and professed ennemy." The people held public meetings and some of their speeches were called seditious.

1664 Royal Commissioners July 23 April 23 Protest



Autographs of the Four Royal Commissioners

Carr, Cartwright, and Maverick returned to Boston, leaving Nicolls in New York to govern it for the duke. In February, 1665, they asked that the people be

Refusal

1665 assembled on election day to hear a message from the king but the Massachusetts charter was silent on the subject and the request of the commissioners was refused. The three commissioners then moved on to Plymouth,

William Hack's Manuscript Map of New England, drawn about 1663 and said to be the Earliest Draft of the Territory of New England

ever longing for a charter, and to the southern New England colonies.

In Plymouth February 22

At pliant Plymouth, all that the commissioners asked was conceded. The work of alienating the sister colonies from the support of Massachusetts had been auspiciously

March 20

begun. The royal commissioners thence passed to the settlements on Narragansett Bay. They quickly set apart the Narragansett country from the bay to the Pawcatuck River, named it King's Province, established a royal government there, and were obeyed as they were at Plymouth. The people of Rhode Island were under no obligations to Massachusetts and perhaps took a grim satisfaction in promising King Charles that the colony would "promote his royal interest to the very utmost of

In Rhode Island

its power, however the other colonies, or any of them, should stand affected or prove disloyal." 1665

The downfall of New Netherland forced Connecticut and New Haven to adjust their differences. The weaker must be absorbed by Connecticut or swallowed by New York. In midwinter, the New Haven general court accepted the inevitable. At the next annual election, the government of the consolidated colony was organized In Connecticut December 14, 1664 May 11

Map of Boston Harbor, Based upon a Plan by Jeffreys

with John Winthrop as governor. When a little later the royal commissioners came from Plymouth by way of the King's Province, Connecticut yielded all they asked and was perhaps grateful for the letter of commendation that the king seems to have kept in blank for the benefit of compliant New England colonies. In the meantime, the commissioners of the united colonies held their annual meeting at Hartford and decided

1665 that thereafter they would meet only once in three years.

Puritan Pluck

May 18

In May, Nicolls having arrived at Boston, the four commissioners demanded a positive answer "whither doe yow acknowledge his majesties commission, wherein we are nominated commissioners, to be of full force." The court waited four days and answered: "We humbly conceive it is beyond our line to declare our sense of the power, intent, or purpose of your commission; it is enough for us to acquaint you what we conceive is granted to us by his majesty's royal charter." The commissioners then decided to hold a court and to call the colony as defendant in the case. When the day of

May 24

trial came, a trumpet sounded and a herald made proclamation in the name of the general court of Massachusetts, that "in observance of their duty to God and to His Majesty and to the trust committed unto us by his majesty's good subjects in this colony, we cannot consent unto, or give our approbation of the aforesaid gentlemen," the commissioners. Liberty claimed its right under the law; the long-growing issue had been joined.

A Bankrupt Quartet

There were many skilful moves upon the board and it would take long to tell the story even in epitome. Nicolls went back to New York and, by July, the other three were at the towns on the Piscataqua. Early in August, Cartwright sailed from Nantucket homeward bound and the Massachusetts general court soon sent their petition to the king professing "allegiance unto your majesty, according to the charter." In April, 1666, Nicolls wrote from New York that the commissioners

April 10

had neither money nor credit left and the king recalled him and his colleagues. As the fitting end of a hapless mission, the papers of the commissioners were captured by a Dutch cruiser.

Downright Disobedience

Then the king ordered that Governor Bellingham and others be sent forthwith to England and the Massachusetts general court refused obedience to the mandate. Madmen and fanatics thus to hurl defiance at the king! But there was a strange method in the madness, a rare

perception of ripe opportunity, and a shrewd mingling of obedience with disobedience, of loyalty with defiant love of liberty. Heroes as well as bigots, these men had resolved to defend the theocracy that they, with God's help, had established. 1665 1670

Charles II. had declared war against the Dutch and the Dutch had entered the Thames and burned English men-of-war at Chatham. When, for the first time and the last, the roar of foreign guns was heard in the streets of London, the citizens cried that the country had been bought and sold and one to another said that while Cromwell lived Europe trembled at the name of England. When the war was ended by the treaty of Breda, England held New Netherland and gave Nova Scotia back to France. In the following year, the triple alliance of the Protestant powers of England, Sweden, and Holland restored peace to Europe, "the only good thing that had been done since the king came in." The triple alliance was broken by the secret treaty of Dover and people said, under the breath, that the king and the duke were not sincere Protestants. The way was not long thence to the test act which required that all persons holding office should take the oath of supremacy and publicly receive the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England. The duke of York owned himself a Catholic and resigned as lord high admiral and the king had something else to do than to throttle Massachusetts independence.

The King has Trouble at Home 1665

July 31, 1667

May, 1670

Rebellion in Scotland, feuds in Ireland, and other home events joined hands with these to postpone the meditated aggressions on the Massachusetts charter. In the summer of 1665, the great London plague broke out and in six months swept away more than a hundred thousand. Scarcely had the dead-cart ceased to go its rounds, when a fire laid in ruins the whole city from the tower to the temple. The Massachusetts general court urged liberal contributions for the relief of Englishmen across the sea, provisioned the English fleet in the

Diplomatic Philanthropy

1666 West Indies, and sent to the king from Maine a shipload of masts for his navy, "a blessing mighty unexpected and but for which we must have failed next year," says Pepys. This "accommodation of his majesty's navy" was by way of "humble thanks to his majesty for the many and continued expressions of *his tender care and fatherly respect* to this his colony!"

Charles the Second

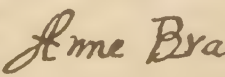
The Merry Monarch

Equally important in its bearings on the Massachusetts charter was the moral status of the merry monarch and his court. Clarendon went into exile and was succeeded in royal favor by Buckingham in whom immorality of the most malignant type was chronic. The king was given to "dallying with women and robbing the theaters of actresses" when he should have been employed in the affairs of state. When the sagacious Louis of France sought the ascendency at the English court that led to the secret treaty of Dover, he sent as his most useful envoy a handsome, licentious, and crafty Frenchwoman. The English king made her the duchess of Portsmouth and wore her chains until he died. When Charles and his council met to discuss New England affairs they were often overawed by a moral dignity that they could not comprehend.

Mind and Matter

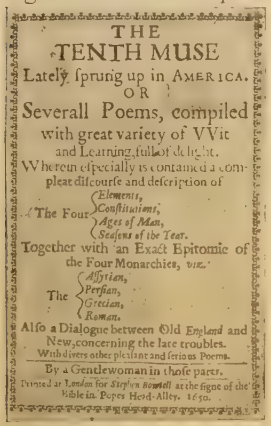
We shall miss a clear understanding of much of the history of Massachusetts for the next few years if we forget that there had been marked changes in the char-

acteristics of the people. For instance, when, in 1667, John Wilson died, the orthodox members of the first church at Boston induced John Davenport of New Haven to accept their call. 1667 1672



Autograph of Anne Bradstreet

The liberal faction of the Boston church would not have Davenport as their pastor and organized a separate church. Of this, then known as "The Third Church in Boston" but now famous as the Old South Church, the Reverend Thomas Thacher was installed as pastor early in 1669. The consequent quarrel was bitter and lasted for more than a dozen years. It had hardly begun when Davenport died of apoplexy, still unreconciled to the half-way covenant. March, 1670



THE
TENTH MUSE
Lately sprung up in AMERICA.
OR
Severall Poems, compiled
with great variety of VVit
and Learning, full of delight.
Wherein especially is contained a compleat discourse and description of
The Four { Elements, Constitutions, Ages of Man, Seasons of the Year.
Together with an Exact Epitomie of the Four Monarchies, viz.
The { Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, Roman.
Also a Dialogue between Old England and New, concerning the late troubles.
With divers other pleasant and serious Poems.
By a Gentlewoman in those parts.
Printed at London for Stephen Bowtell at the signe of the Bible in Popes Head-Alley. 1650.

Title-page of Anne Bradstreet's *Tenth Muse*

The final victory of the seceders has been called the turning-point in the ecclesiastical and political history of New England. Moreover, there was a growing disposition, especially in Boston, to emphasize the importance of material prosperity and to look with less intolerance upon interference with political rights. In other words, the colonial spirit was becoming more "practical" and less "sentimental." About this time, died Anne, the daughter of Thomas Dudley and the wife of Simon Bradstreet. She was the mother of eight children and the author of quaint verses that were much admired by her contemporaries. Professor Moses Coit Tyler says that she was the first New England writer who rose above the level "of persons whom it is a charity to call amateurs in the art of poetry." In 1678, Pastor Thacher, who had previously been a practicing physician, published the first medical treatise printed in America and died. September 16, 1672

1676 1679 Enter Edward Randolph

During the King Philip war, New England neither asked nor received aid from the mother country. Almost before the Berkshire Hills had ceased to throw back the war-cries of the Indian allies, London merchants came to the aid of the enemies of Massachusetts and king and ministry "did agree that this was the conjuncture to do something effectual for the better regulation of the government." In June, 1676, Edward Randolph, the evil genius of New England, arrived at Boston with a royal order for Massachusetts to send agents to England there to answer for her. The colony obeyed reluctantly and the envoys, Stoughton and Bulkely, had their powers hedged around with care and caution. Randolph went back to England in about six weeks, was reëmployed, and, in the course of nine years, made eight voyages to America.

Thomas Thacher, First Minister of "Old South"

Massachusetts buys Maine

When, in 1677, the English authorities decided that the Massachusetts title to the northern provinces was not valid, Massachusetts bought the Gorges patent. When Massachusetts thus became lord-paramount of Maine, King Charles was vexed, as might have been expected. When he demanded that the transfer should be canceled, Massachusetts maintained a discreet silence, as might have been expected. Stoughton and Bulkely returned to Boston about Christmas of 1679, with a letter from the English government setting forth its demands upon the colony.

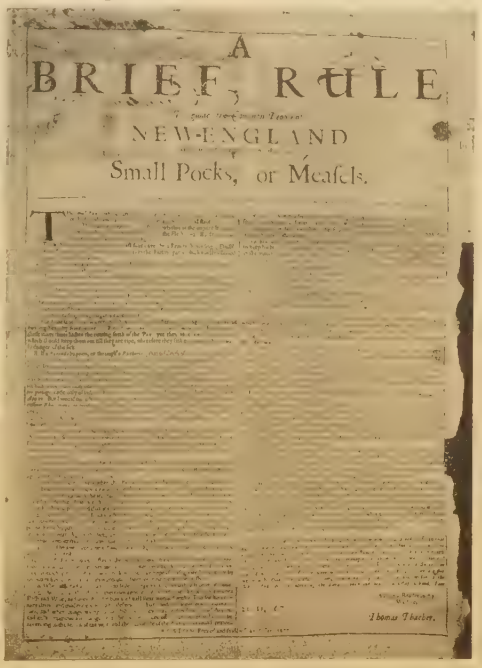
A Subject Province

John Leverett, who had been governor since 1673, died in 1679 and was succeeded by Simon Bradstreet who had served as an assistant since 1630. Hitherto

Maine had been claimed under the terms of the Massachusetts patent and had been represented in the Massachusetts general court; now Maine was claimed by right of purchase and was subjected to a local, proprietary government with Thomas Danforth as president of the province. There were also a deputy-president, a council, and a representative assembly. The government thus established at York endured until the duke of York became the king. 1679

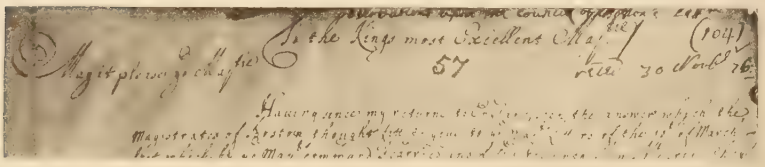
New Hampshire

In an earlier chapter, I have told the story of the settlement of New Hampshire's primitive towns and of their acceptance of the invitation of the Massachusetts Puritans to come under what Edward Godfrey called "their umbrella of religion." For nearly forty years the union had endured with some protests against "the grasping and bigoted rule of the Bostonians." John Mason had a grandson, Robert Tufton, who changed his name and is known in New Hampshire history as Robert Mason. This heir seems to have been a mild

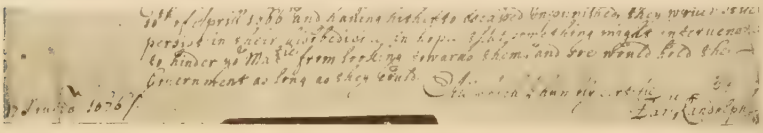

A
BRIEF RULE
NEW-ENGLAND
Small Pocks, or Measels.
T
Thomas Thacher.

The Earliest Treatise on a Medical Subject Printed in English America, by Thomas Thacher

1679 young man but he had a rather strenuous kinsman in Edward Randolph. For half a century from the time when Randolph made his appearance in America the two controlling events in New Hampshire history are the contest concerning the proprietorship of the soil and



Beginning and Ending of Letter from Edward Randolph to the King, November 17, 1676



the controversy over the Massachusetts boundary line. Closely correlated with these were the growing dislike of the king for Puritan politics, laws, and theology and his determination to overthrow the Massachusetts charter.

A Royal Province

In spite of Massachusetts, New Hampshire was organized as a royal province, the first in New England. By a commission that passed the great seal in September, 1679, John Cutt of Portsmouth was appointed president and a council was nominated. The president and councilors were representative men of the province and many of them had served as deputies in the general court of Massachusetts. The commission directed "that liberty of conscience shall be allowed unto all protestants; that such especially as shall be conformable to the rites of the Church of England shall be particularly countenanced and encouraged," and that the council should issue summons for a general assembly "within 3 month after they have bin sworn." Such an assembly was to be continued by the grace and favor of the king "unless by inconvenience arising from thence, We, our heirs or successors shall see cause to alter the same." The assembly

met at Portsmouth and enacted that no law or ordinance "be made or imposed upon us but such as shall be made by the said Assembly and approved by the President and Councill." This, from a royal province, must have seemed an "inconvenience." Moreover, the new government took early opportunity to send a friendly letter to Massachusetts and to avow to the king a deep sensibility "of the disadvantages likely to accrue to your Majesty's provinces and ourselves, more especially by the multiplying of small and weak governments unfit either for offence or defence." 1679–1682 March 16, 1679=March 26, 1680 March 29, 1680

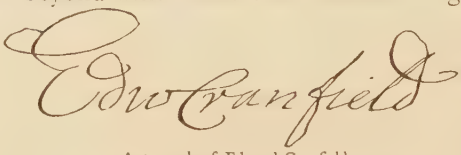
In the summer of 1680, the king's collector visited the province and behaved so ill that he had to beg the pardon of the council and "got cast in damages in a civil action." In a man like Randolph, such experiences were sure to add a flavor of personal vindictiveness to official zeal. The English government put a quietus to Mason's claims of sovereignty but left him a vague title to an interest in the land. To make the most of what was left, Mason secured an order from the king for his admission to a seat in the New Hampshire council. In the following spring, he appointed a steward of his lands "to demand and receive of every inhabitant the quit rent due." When the lord proprietor tried to enforce his claims, he found that "government by injunction" had arrived in New England. The council forbade his interference with the lands of settlers and threatened to report his proceedings to the king. It seems that Mason then refused to sit in council and went back to England. Mason and his Claims December 30, 1680 March 22, 1680=April 1, 1681

President Cutt died in March, 1681, and Richard Waldron of the council succeeded to the office. Through Mason's influence, Edward Cranfield was appointed, not as president, but as lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief. Later in the year, he landed in Boston where he signalized his stay by becoming the chief instigator of a plot to induce the Massachusetts authorities to try a bribe of two thousand pounds to secure English official aid in support of the Massachu- A Carpet-Bagger May 9, 1682

1682–1685 setts charter. From Boston he passed on to Portsmouth. Mr. Doyle, an English historian, calls him "a disreputable adventurer" and a "political freebooter who went to his task in the spirit of a Roman proconsul in the worst days of the republic."

Cranfield in the Saddle

Cranfield's commission gave him extraordinary powers beyond which he did not hesitate to go. He convoked the assembly in November, 1682, and sent the "rugged" delegates home in January. Never before had a representative assembly been so dismissed in New England and there were cries for "liberty and reformation," the so-called "Gove's Rebellion." The third assembly met in January, 1684, refused to pass a revenue bill, and was immediately dissolved. A fourth assembly was summoned in the following May and dissolved on account of a "mutinous and rebellious disposition." The collection of taxes was resisted by force and, in at least one case, women threatened to scald the deputies of the sheriff if they made any effort to attach property in the house. When the troop of horse was ordered out, not a man obeyed the summons. Cranfield wrote to the home government: "I shall esteem it the greatest happiness in the world to be allowed to remove from these unreasonable people."



Autograph of Edward Cranfield

January, 1685

Exit Cranfield

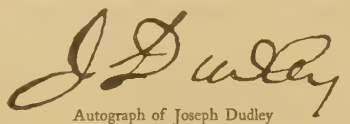
The resistance of the New Hampshire people was intensified by their well-founded belief that Cranfield had a personal interest in Mason's claim to their lands. Because of the "grotesque ingenuity" by which every incident, political or judicial, was utilized for personal profit, Nathaniel Weare was secretly sent to England to secure redress. The lords of trade sustained the charges and Cranfield returned to England. On a small scale, the issue had been met in true English fashion and won by the people. When the governor-general of New England was cast down at Boston, a story that is in

March 27, 1685

waiting a little further on, New Hampshire again fell to the care of Massachusetts. 1678–1682

There are differences of opinion as to the effect of the British navigation laws upon the ship-building and the commerce of New England. Whatever the effect, the colonists felt that the laws were injurious and that the motive behind them was unfriendly. This colonial frame of mind is the more important consideration in our present inquiry. The profitable violations of these laws by Boston merchants aroused commercial jealousy and added to administrative dissatisfaction in the mother country. In May, 1678, the committee on plantations decided that a writ of *quo warranto* should be brought against the Massachusetts charter and Edward Randolph became collector of his majesty's customs in New England. The issuance of the writ was delayed, a short reprieve for which Massachusetts was less indebted to her agents than to Titus Oates, "because the prosecution of the Popish plot had not left a sufficient leisure for a perfect settling of that colony." Massachusetts Threatened

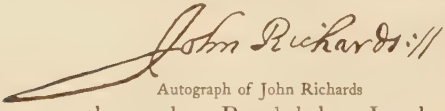
But even "the Popish plot" could not throw Randolph off the scent. After the attorney-general of England had rendered his opinion that the charter authorized the holding of the meetings of the corporation in the colony, Randolph submitted an elaborate scheme for the abrogation of the charter by writ of *quo warranto*. Events conspired to make more easy than ever before the execution of such a program and in spite of every obstacle that a shrewd community could oppose to the proceedings, it was evident that in the end Randolph and the king would win. In October, 1681, the king's dreaded messenger bore the king's letter into Boston. Randolph is Persistent May 30, 1681



Autograph of Joseph Dudley

Under royal threat to make void the charter, the general court chose Joseph Dudley and John Richards as its agents and gave them authority to use a thousand pounds in their discretion "to improve any meet instru- Joseph Dudley March 20, 1682

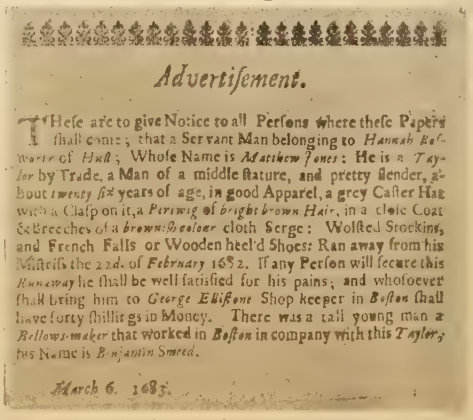
1682 ment" that might be influential in the preservation of
1683 the charter — probably the outcome of the Cranfield plot already mentioned. In England, the agents found that their natural allies were powerless, that the king, flushed with victory, was unrestrained, and that the bishop of London was standing by the side of the restless Randolph. In short, they had little else to do than to stand up in the name of the colony, receive sentence, and advise obedience. After many sermons and countless prayers, Massachusetts relinquished her claims to Maine but resolved to give up no chartered right or privilege. The writ was issued in June, 1683, and, late in the year, Randolph brought it to Boston.



Autograph of John Richards

The Quo Warranto Fails

The writ was returnable early in November and the time went by before it could be served — another escape to be entered to the credit of those who had transferred the charter from England to New England.



Advertisement.

THese are to give Notice to all Persons where these Papers shall come; that a Servant Man belonging to *Hannah Bosworth* of *Hull*; Whose Name is *Matthew Jones*: He is a *Taylor* by Trade, a Man of a middle stature, and pretty slender, about *twenty six* years of age, in good Apparel, a grey Caster Hat with a Clasp on it, a *Perriwig* of *bright brown Hair*, in a cloth Coat & Breeches of a *brownish colour* cloth Serge: Wolsted Stockins, and French Falls or Wooden heel'd Shoes: Ran away from his Mistris the 22d. of *February* 1682. If any Person will secure this *Runaway* he shall be well satisfied for his pains; and whosoever shall bring him to *George Ellistone* Shop keeper in *Boston* shall have forty shillings in Money. There was a tall young man a *Bellows-maker* that worked in *Boston* in company with this *Taylor*; his Name is *Benjamin Smeed*.

March 6. 1683.

Advertisement of a Runaway Servant

Conservative Compliance

Although time had killed the writ that Randolph brought, Governor Bradstreet and the assistants voted that "we will not presume to contend with majesty in a course of law" and resolved to "send agents empowered to receive his majesty's demands." After a fortnight's debate, the record of the lower house was written: "The deputies consent not but adhere to their former bills." When, a little later, the question was consid-

November 15

November 30

ered in the Boston town-meeting, not a single hand was raised in favor of submission. At the next election, hardly one freeman in ten took the pains to vote. By a small majority, Bradstreet, the "moderate" candidate for governor, was reëlected over Danforth, the candidate of the "popular" party, but both of his partisan associates, Dudley and Stoughton, were defeated for the magistracy. 1683 1686 Radical Rigidity 1684

Randolph returned to England and a new suit of *scire facias*, a more summary procedure, was begun. In June, 1684, the Massachusetts charter was adjudged to be forfeited and judgment was entered in the following October. The case was brought for trial before there had been time to communicate with Massachusetts. The proceedings constituted a judicial farce but the process was effective. The civil and religious structure known as Massachusetts Bay disappeared with the charter that supported it. In English law, time turned backward; Puritan prayers and protests were powerless to prevent the passage. With parliament dissolved and courts subservient, the king was undisputed master. Charles II. died in February, 1685; a copy of the judgment was served upon the general court in July, 1685; the duke of York was James II. before the Massachusetts Puritans had official notice that their charter had been annulled. Scire Facias The Larceny of the Charter

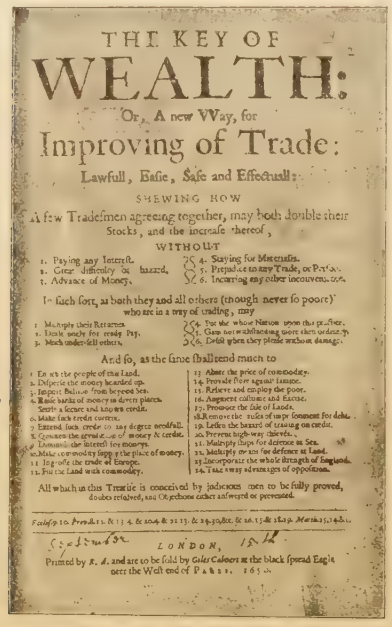
In 1682, Joseph Dudley had been sent to England with a commission from the Massachusetts general court; in September, 1685, James II. commissioned him as president of the council for Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Maine, and the Narragansett country or King's Province; in 1686, he laid before the general court the king's commission that the British frigate "Rose" had brought to Boston about the middle of May. It is not necessary to assume that the son of Thomas Dudley was a traitor to Massachusetts. Perhaps he did the best he could to avert the calamity that fell upon his native land, but the fact remains that, when the storm had passed and the sky had cleared so that President Dudley

1686 men might see, upon the ruins of a commonwealth to which he owed the devotion of a son and the good faith of an agent, stood Joseph Dudley in the livery of the author of the wreck.

Quo Warranto against Rhode Island May 28

Almost as soon as Dudley was in office as president of New England, he and his council appointed a provisional government for Rhode Island and discharged the king's subjects there from obedience to the previously existing government "and all other pretending any power or jurisdiction." In the following month, Randolph served writs of *quo warranto* against Rhode Island and the assembly determined "not to stand suit with his majesty but to proceed by humble address to his majesty to continue their privileges and liberties according to their charter."

June 12



THE KEY OF
WEALTH:
Or, A new Way, for
Improving of Trade:
Lawfull, Easie, Safe and Effectuall:
SHEWING HOW
A few Tradesmen agreeing together, may both double their Stocks, and the increase thereof,
WITHOUT
1. Paying any Interest.
2. Great difficulty or hazard.
3. Advance of Money.
4. Staying for Bills or Exchanges.
5. Prejudice to any Trade, or Person.
6. Incurring any other inconvenience.
In such sort, as both they and all others (though never so poore) who are in a way of trading, may
1. Multiply their Returns.
2. Have ready cash for ready Pay.
3. Much under-sell others.
4. Put the whole Nation upon the gaine.
5. Gain 10 in withholding more then ordinary.
6. Drive when they please at their own damage.
And so, as the same shall tend much to
1. Enrich the people of the Land.
2. Disperse the money hoarded up.
3. Import Bullion from beyond Sea.
4. Raise banks of money in divers places.
5. Settle a secure and known credit.
6. Make such credit current.
7. Extend such credit to any degree needfull.
8. Govern the great use of money & credit.
9. Dominere the interest for moneys.
10. Make commodity supply the place of money.
11. Ingross the trade of Europe.
12. Fix the Land with commodity.
13. Abate the price of commodity.
14. Provide Flow against famine.
15. Relieve and employ the poor.
16. Augment Customes and Excise.
17. Promote the sale of Lands.
18. Remove the rules of unprofitable Government for debt.
19. Leiles the hazard of trading on credit.
20. Prevent high-way thieves.
21. Multiply Ships for defence at Sea.
22. Multiply Forts for defence at Land.
23. Incorporate the whole strength of England.
24. Take away advantages of opposition.
All which in this Treatise is conceived by judicious men to be fully proved, doubts resolved, and Objections either answered or prevented.
LONDON, 16
Printed by R. A. and are to be sold by Giles Calvert at the black spread Eagle neer the West end of Paules. 1652.

Title-page of *The Key of Wealth*

Quo Warranto against Connecticut

A writ of *quo warranto* against Connecticut had been issued in July, 1685, and a second writ a little later. Two days after Dudley's government took hold of Massachusetts, Randolph wrote from Boston notifying Governor Treat at Hartford that he had the writs against the colony. He concealed the fact that the time specified for the answer of the colony had gone by and sought to secure a surrender of the charter without a service of the summons. The game was not successful and, in July, Randolph went to Hartford to serve the

May 27

April 19

writ in person. Although a third *quo warranto*, dated on the twenty-third of October, 1686, was served on the colony late in the following December, no judgment against the charter was recorded. A letter from the general court to the secretary of state was construed as a submission by the colony and the *quo warranto* proceedings were dropped. 1686

Paper Money Magic

In 1650, William Potter published at London a folio volume entitled "The Key of Wealth." Copies of this and of similar books found their way to the American colonies and had a considerable influence. Potter's panacea was, of course, a bank; trade could be stimulated and wealth increased by issues of paper money. When, in 1652, Massachusetts set up a mint, as already stated, the general court had before it a proposition to establish a bank, presumably as an alternative measure of relief. It is probable that, at that time, there were in circulation in Massachusetts paper bills based on individual credit and unsupported by any legislative action.

Vol. 2, p. 371

Blackwell's Scheme

A generation later, John Blackwell prepared a scheme for a bank of credit and, in July, 1686, Dudley's council referred it to a committee. The committee made a favorable report and the council voted its "approbation." The control of the bank was to be in the hands of President Dudley, two members of his council, and the projector of the scheme; the proposed bank-notes were to be legal tender. The profits of the bank were to be divided into one hundred and twelve parts, twelve of which were to go to the four managers for friends of the bank. The identity of these "friends" is not known but there is reason to suspect that the twelve shares were intended for the coming governor-general. Dudley's attempt to set up on government patronage a bank that would turn large profits into the pockets of high government officials did not prosper. Whether Andros proved too honest for Dudley's seductive plans or not, political events became distracting and, by July, 1688, the whole thing had been abandoned.

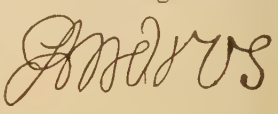
1686 Governor-General Andros December 20

Toward the end of 1686, another British frigate bore into Boston Sir Edmund Andros and two companies of royal troops. Andros had come as the immediate representative of the king, the New England governor-general in the flesh, the specter of which for half a century had been a continuous nightmare; the royal troops were the first ever stationed in New England. Randolph was continued as secretary of the council and Dudley became the chief-justice of New England. The new council held its first meeting at Boston on the thirtieth of December. Of the nineteen members, five were from Rhode Island. The royal government granted to Providence Plantations the recognition that the colonial confederacy had refused.

New England Colors, 1686

New England Orthodoxy

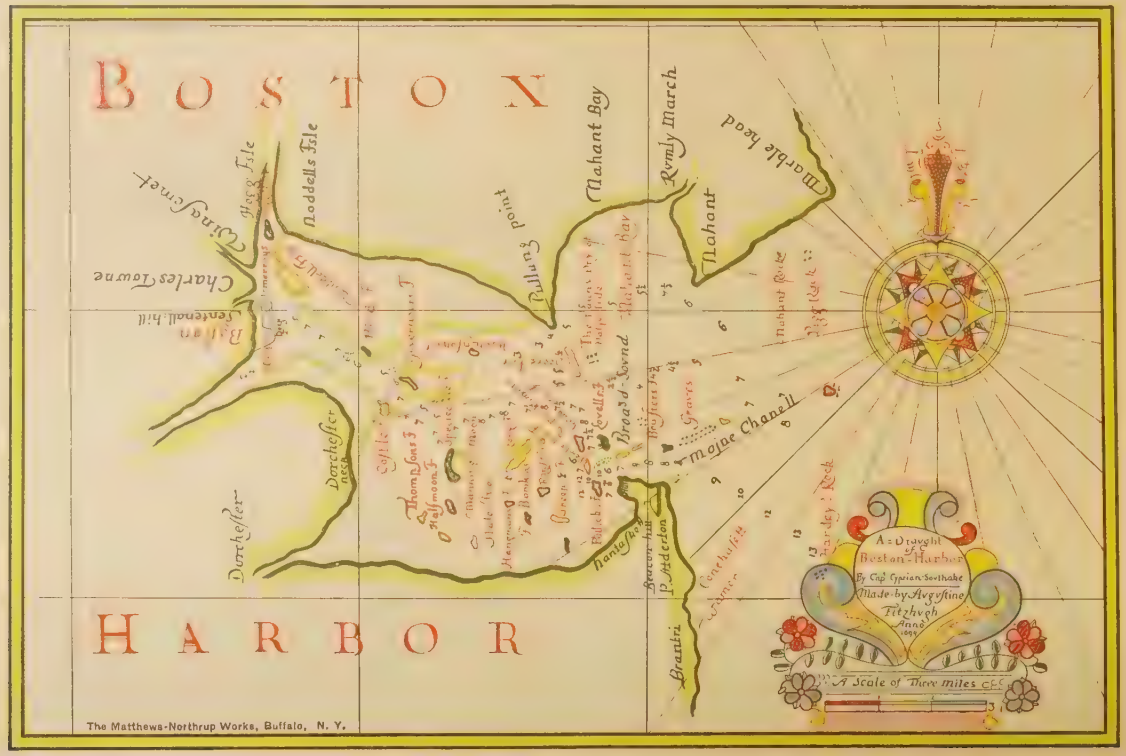
In some of the southern colonies, the Anglican church was "established," but in New England nearly every town had its Congregational church supported by taxation. In Massachusetts especially, "the civil authority was developed and organized mainly for the purpose of protecting" their church system. The fathers had deliberately cut loose from the discipline of the English hierarchy and the sons were still alert to detect any attack on their own ecclesiastical organization and especially to resist every attempt to organize a schismatic congregation. Of all schismatics, none was more dangerous and offensive than the New England Episcopalian. The royal order for the toleration of episcopacy and the introduction of the Anglican form of worship under the adminstrations of Dudley and Andros were bitter pills to the typical New Englander of that time.



Autograph of Andros

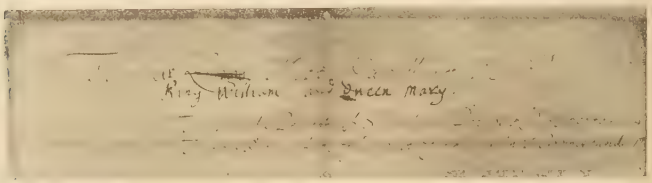
An Intolerable Rule

Andros was hampered by no accountability except to the king, now the sole repository of executive and legislative power. He had been governor of New York, was familiar with colonial affairs, and had often urged



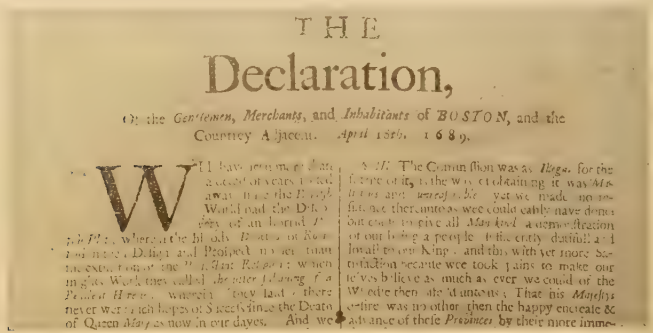
FITZHUGH'S COPY, 1694, OF CAPTAIN CYPRIAN SOUTHAKE'S MAP OF BOSTON HARBOR, 1689

1686 the consolidation that had taken place. For years, it
1688 has been charged that he taxed the people without their consent and was a constant menace to their chosen form of worship; that he suspended the writ of *habeas corpus* and set up a strict censorship over the press; that he



Heading of a Petition of Sir William Phips and Increase Mather to William and Mary, asking that Andros be removed, dated January 20, 1689

was unyielding, arbitrary, and extortionate; that he was proud, ostentatious, and despotic—in short, intolerable. Some of the particulars are true but the characterization is unjust. The omitted truth is that Andros was a soldier obedient to orders. If the wishes of the people



THE

Declaration,

Of the *Gentlemen*, *Merchants*, and *Inhabitants* of *BOSTON*, and the Country Adjacent. *April* 18th. 1689.

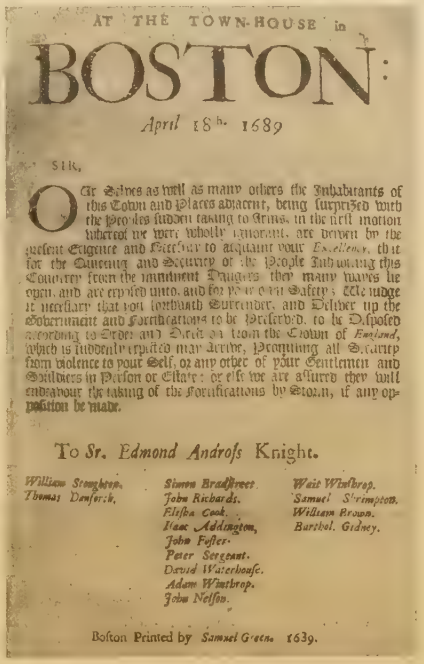
Part of Broadside, published upon the Occasion of the Seizure of Andros

could not be made to lie parallel with his instructions from his royal master, so much the worse for the people.

Andros as Viceroy

In June, 1688, Andros received a commission by which the king promoted him to the command of all the English colonies in America north of Pennsylvania and

Delaware. His viceregal throne was to be at Boston; a deputy-governor at New York was to govern that colony and the Jerseys. In Massachusetts, the loss of a representative assembly constituted tyranny; continued oppression increased the general alarm and indignation, and when, in April, 1689, a rumor of the English revolution floated into Boston, Andros was quickly thrown into prison. Between the rumor and the prison, there was a rising of the people. On the eighteenth of April, from the country by land and by water, men poured into Boston. The excitement was intense. The thing could be endured no longer; the people's blood was up. 1689



AT THE TOWN-HOUSE in

BOSTON:

April 18th. 1689

SIR,

OUr Selves as well as many others the Inhabitants of this Town and Places adjacent, being surprized with the peoples sudden rising to Arms, in the first motion whereof we were wholly ignorant, are driven by the present Exigence and Necessity to acquaint your Excellency, that for the Quieting and Security of the People Inhabiting this Country from the imminent Dangers they many ways lie open and are exposed unto, and for your own Safety; We judge it necessary that you forthwith Surrender, and Deliver up the Government and Fortifications to be Preserved, to be Disposed according to Order and Direction from the Crown of *England*, which is suddenly expected may Arrive, Promising all Security from violence to your Self, or any other of your Gentlemen and Soldiers in Person or Estate: Or else we are assured they will endeavour the taking of the Fortifications by Storm, if any opposition be made.

To *Sr. Edmond Andros* Knight.

William Stoughton. *Thomas Danforth.*

Simon Bradstreet. *John Richards.* *Elisha Cook.* *Isaac Addington.* *John Foster.* *Peter Sergeant.* *Daniel Waterhouse.* *Adam Winthrop.* *John Nelson.*

Wait Winthrop. *Samuel Shrimpton.* *William Brown.* *Barthol. Gidney.*

Boston Printed by *Samuel Green.* 1689.

Broadside Address of the Principal Inhabitants, Requesting Andros to Surrender up the Government

Andros in Prison

Andros took refuge in the fort but the fort surrendered. Dudley was arrested and Randolph was confined in the common jail. Andros made an unsuccessful attempt to escape in the disguise of feminine apparel after which his servant got the sentinel drunk and the prisoner got away, only to be recognized in Newport and returned to Boston. He was sent to England and subsequently appeared as governor of Virginia. At Boston, the "Council for the Safety of the People and the Conser-

Reconstruction

Instructions for the Agents for the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England

1. You are to waite upon their Majesties and humbly present our Address & sollicite with you.

2. You are to lay before his Majesty the Intollerable inconveniencies that this Colony was exposed to by means of the Arbitrariness & illegallity of the late Comissions & by reason of ill Instruments in places there principally the execution of them lay.

3. The utter inconsistency of there is between the very being of this plantation & the mischievous aimes & practises of the French king.

4. The just & amazeing fears this people were surprized with upon the intelligence they had of the late king James' being returned back to Ireland with the assistance of the French king, after he was thought to be gone into the power of the French king, other circumstances contributing to strengthen those fears.

5. The despaires this people were brought to, when instead of defending them in their just rights & properties, those in the late Government sought to turne them out of their lands & possessions upon which under god they had their dependence for a necessary livelyhood.

6. The probabillity there is of the present Warr with the Natives was occasioned by the injury done to Monsieur Castine, who is in affinity with them and has a great influence upon them.

7. That you solicite in Parliament or elsewhere as may best suit the confirmation of our Antient Charter, & all its rights & priviledges in full & large.

8. You are to take care that the money that has been advanced in London by Mr. Stephen Mason &c. others for the use of the Massachusetts, be speedily paid them, with due thanks for their zeal & service done to this Colony by their means.

9. You are to solicite that the Liberty of Voyage may be allowed us &c. from to lay before his Majesty his case at Pemaquid &c.

10. That you lay before his Majesty the great inconveniencies we are under by the ill neighbourhood of the French in Canada & Accadia, & places adjacent and pray his favour & direction in that matter.

11. If there be opportunity you are to endeavour the obtaining of such priviledges as may be of further benefit to this Colony.

Boston. 2d January 1689.

Sam: Dranforth Gouvr
in the name of the Gen.all Court.

By Order of the Gen.all Court.

Instructions for the Agents of Massachusetts Bay Colony to Justify Their Conduct in Removing Andros

vation of Peace" was organized, the capsheaf of a complete and bloodless revolution. A convention was summoned, the last governor under the charter, the aged Bradstreet, resumed office, and the old government of Massachusetts was reëstablished. 1689 May 24

At this time the Massachusetts people knew that the prince of Orange had landed in England and that the result of his enterprise was extremely doubtful. Should he be driven back to the Netherlands, there would be an awful reckoning for the Massachusetts rebels. There were deep relief and loud-voiced joy in Boston when a ship from England came with orders to proclaim King William and Queen Mary. From far and near the people flocked into Boston. There was a great procession followed by "a great dinner at the Town House for the better sort." When the bell rang at nine o'clock, there were devout thanks at the domestic altar for the passing of a great sorrow. The Risk May 26

Plymouth was recovering slowly from the exhaustion caused by Philip's war and was favored and flattered rather than oppressed by Randolph and his associates. In 1680, an agent was sent to England with an address to his majesty but the king was not in the mood for granting another New England charter. When Andros came as governor-general, the old colony made no opposition other than entreaty and complaint. When Massachusetts rose in revolution, Plymouth again set up her ancient government. Plymouth

Rhode Island gave to the governor-general of New England a warmer welcome than did the other colonies. Almost any change that promised to end their struggle with the powerful Puritan colonies was welcome to the people and Andros had upheld the claims of the weaker "province" in the boundary dispute with Connecticut. After an unsatisfactory visit to Connecticut, Andros broke the colonial seal authorized by the Rhode Island charter but, by a ruse of Governor Clarke, the charter Rhode Island

1687 itself was put beyond his reach. After Andros was cast down from his viceregal throne at Boston, Rhode Island resumed her charter government.

Connecticut October

Although the writs that Randolph served on Governor Treat had failed, Andros went to Hartford to demand the Connecticut charter. The submission of the colony had been assumed, as already explained. The governor-general was at the head of a troop of soldiers and the general court was in session. According to an interesting story in support of which there is no contemporary writing, there was much debate with many protests—probably as had been prearranged. An excited crowd gathered in and about the building, night drew on, and candles were lighted. When Andros finally demanded that the charter be put back into its box and given to him, a puff of wind put out the lights. When the candles were relighted, the charter could not be found. Andros had been baffled with a breath. The general court entered up a minute in these words:

> His Excelency, S^r^ Edmond Andross Kn^t^, Capt. Generall & Gov^r^ of his Ma^ties^ Teritorie & Dominion in New England, by order from his Ma^tie^ James the second, King of England, Scotland, France, & Ireland, the 31 of October, 1687, took into his hands the Government of this colony of Conecticott, it being by his Ma^tie^ annexed to the Massachusets & other colonys under his Excelencies Government. *Finis.*

The Hiding of the Charter

Andros seems to have made no complaint against the colonial officials; if he no longer had a charter to suppress, Connecticut no longer had a charter to which she might appeal. On the following day, he proclaimed his commission. When, within two years, Andros fell, the missing charter came from its hiding-place and Connecticut promptly restored her old magistrates to place and power. Just where and by whom it was preserved cannot now be told with certainty. The most popular of several stories is that Captain Joseph Wadsworth concealed it in a hollow oak. Years later, public money was voted to him for saving the charter when "our constitution was struck at." The famous "charter oak" was blown down in 1856 but, as oaks from acorns grow,

1715

the city of Hartford today distributes little "charter oaks" and certifies to the pedigree. The Rhode Island and Connecticut charters not having been surrendered, the law officers of the crown held that they still were good and valid. All attempts to destroy them had failed and of the attempts that were later made none was successful. Although the New England confederacy had been long-time feeble and was now dead, it had worked a new idea into the political system of the English colonies in America — the combination of local self-government and union. 1689

The so-called Charter Oak

With James II. an exile from his kingdom and William and Mary on the English throne, with Seth Sothell seizing power in South Carolina, Nathaniel Bacon and rebellion in Virginia, John Coode and the associators' insurrection in Maryland, the picturesque and dramatic Leisler uprising in New York, and the overthrow of the Andros throne at Boston, it appears that there was an English revolution in America as well as in the mother island. On both sides of the Atlantic, events were working ill for the divine right of kings; the people and popular rights were gaining ground in their long controversy with arbitrary rule and royal prerogative. The comprehensive view of the tendency of English development in this period is as instructive and reassuring as the several incidents thereof are interesting. English Aspirations

As has been pointed out in these pages, these English colonies were of three political forms, the corporate colony, the proprietary province, and the royal province. The proprietary form was essentially transitional. Through the other two were to be worked out the great questions of government by authority transmitted from the king through his agents down to the people, or drawn up from the people through representative legisla- The Source of Sovereignty

1689 tures of their own choosing; imperial control or independence. Between these two ideas of the source of sovereignty there was an irrepressible conflict.

The Colonial Tendency

Although a complete colonial system had not been established and the attempts to enforce the navigation acts were spasmodic, the careful reader of this volume has noticed a tendency in most of the English plantations in America to manage their own affairs in their own way. Thus Connecticut set up as a separate colony without asking the consent of England; Massachusetts absorbed New Hampshire and Maine and established her mint in the same independent fashion; the New England confederacy was formed without leave of the mother country or any recognition of her existence more pronounced than an allusion to "those sad distractions in England." From Massachusetts to Carolina, Englishmen in America were already piping the same air of theoretical exposition and of practical maintenance of what they thought to be their rights. Was this tendency toward independence seeming or real, incidental or intentional? Was it to be temporary or continuous?

CHAPTER IX

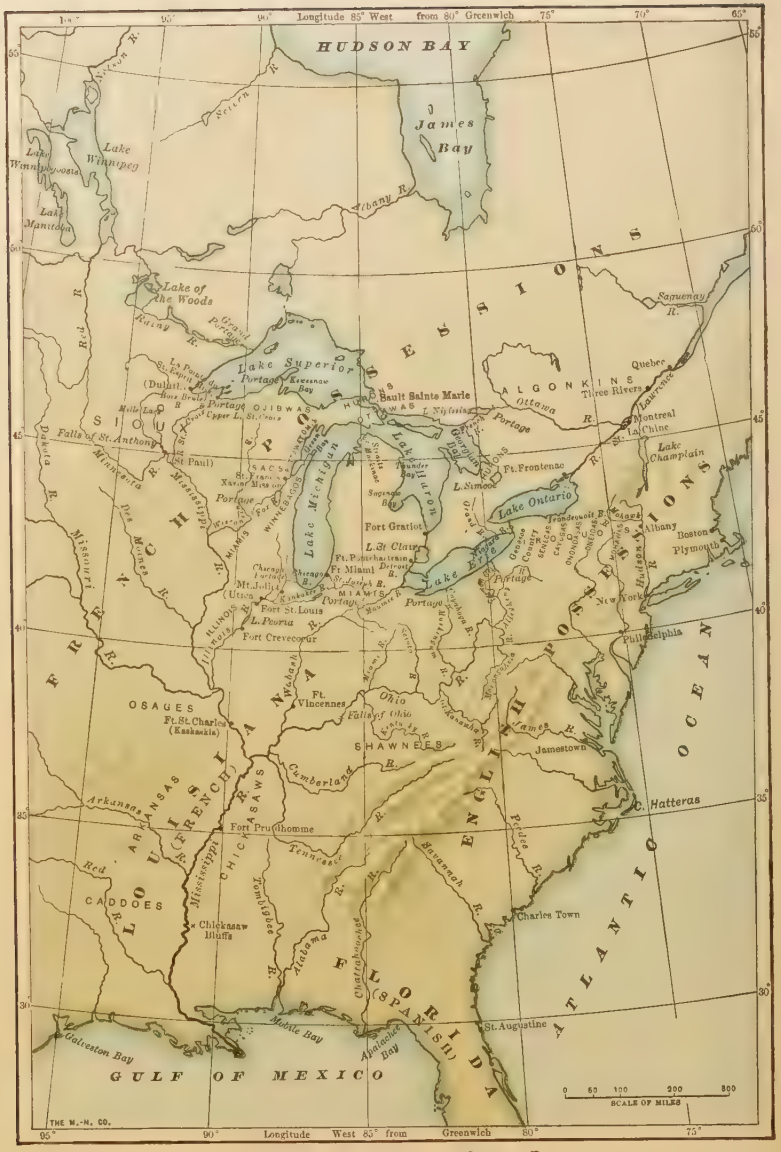
THE FRENCH EXPLORATION OF THE WEST

1634
1689

The English Frontier

AT the end of the seventeenth century, the American frontier had been pushed from the Atlantic seaboard just beyond the "fall line," where the streams leave their rocky beds and, by a series of rapids or falls, enter deeper channels. At this line fish love to linger, navigation has to stop, and water-power becomes available to industry; hence, pre-Columbian village sites, post-Columbian trading posts, and modern cities and railways. But while the English colonists were thus appropriating the Atlantic seaboard, the

Map of the English Colonies, Showing the "Fall Line"



Map of the French, English, and Spanish Possessions

French followers of Cartier and Champlain were penetrating the western wilds and waters and setting up a New France that, by way of great lakes and great rivers, reached from gulf to gulf. In the Canadian forests were developed the *coureurs de bois* and the *voyageurs*, a hardy race that added much to the knowledge that the French had of the land for which they and the English were to fight. But even more important than these rangers of the woods and waters were the missionaries of the cross. 1634

Voyageur and Missionary

In 1618, Etienne Brulé, Champlain's interpreter, returned from the Lake Superior country to Montreal with an ingot of red copper and a description of the great lake and Jean Nicolet came from France to trade in furs. In 1634, Nicolet pushed his canoe through the strait of Mackinac and coasted along the shore of Lake Michigan as far as Green Bay. About this time, the influence of the Jesuits became supreme at Quebec and several of the most famous of the religious and educational institutions of Canada were begun, the Jesuit college, the Hôtel Dieu with its devoted hospital nuns, and the school for Indian converts at Sillery, on the river four or five miles above Quebec. The ship that brought the hospital nuns also brought a wealthy, young, and childless widow, Madame de la Peltrie. With her were Marie Guyard, better known today as Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, the mother superior of the Ursulines, and one or two other nuns, all of whom were soon at Sillery.

Brulé and Nicolet

Jesuit Influence

August, 1639

In this period also were begun the missions among the Huron tribes—the central theme of many of the Jesuit relations. In 1634, Brébeuf, Daniel, and other priests accompanied a party of Hurons returning from Three Rivers to their distant country. The hostility of the Iroquois had left but one open route, up the Ottawa River, across Lake Nipissing, down French River, and along the shores of Georgian Bay, three hundred pathless leagues. After separation, one by one, weary and worn, they landed on the shores of Thunder Bay, a region in

Huronia

1641 1642 which Brébeuf had spent three years and in which Etienne Brulé had been lately murdered. They offered thanks to God and began anew the greatest of the Jesuit missions.

Father Jogues

In 1641, Isaac Jogues went to the natives at the Sault Sainte Marie. In the following year, he and his Indian companions were captured in the Saint Lawrence by the dreaded Iroquois who were lying in wait for them. Jogues refused to make his escape because his unbaptized converts needed absolution. From the Saint Lawrence to the Mohawk, torture was their constant companion. In village after village, the Jesuit father ran the gauntlet but he found full recompense when from a stalk of Indian corn he gathered enough of rain or dew to baptize two of his captive converts. He escaped with the help of the Dutch and returned to his native land. He soon returned to New France and martyrdom.

Isaac Jogues

Maisonneuve and Montreal

About this time, a few enraptured visionaries in France secured a grant of the island at the mouth of the Ottawa. In August, 1641, Sieur de Maisonneuve and Mademoiselle Jeanne Mance arrived at Quebec with a colony of forty men and four women. Back of the enterprise were the benefactions of a rich widow, Madame de Boullion. In the following spring, the party left Quebec accompanied by Madame de la Peltrie. At the island that had been pointed out in visions, Maisonneuve and his "miraculously compounded company" raised an altar and celebrated the mass. Then began the work of building homes which were quickly enclosed with palisades defended by cannons—the special dread of the dreaded Iroquois. Outside the palisades a hospital was soon

May 17, 1642

built with Madame Boullion's money — a "pious though superfluous task." It was a massive stone structure, a little fortress in itself, so strong that it withstood all the assaults of the Iroquois and the depredations of time until, a few years ago, it gave way before the pressure of trade. The little settlement was first called Ville-

1644
1653
Hôtel Dieu

The Maisonneuve Monument at Montreal

Marie; its site is marked in the custom-house square of Montreal.

A few years later, the maiden Margaret Bourgeoys came to Ville-Marie and established there the institution from which have sprung like twigs from tree the schools of Notre Dame which now dot the way from Cape Breton Island to the western ocean. As Quebec was the work of men with trade as their master motive, so Ville-Marie was set upon the frontier by women in the name of religion, education, and humanity.

Woman's Work
1653

1645
1648

In 1645, some of the Iroquois made a treaty of peace with the French and their Indian friends; for one winter the hitherto hostile tribes joined as brethren in the chase. In the following year, Father Jogues went to found a mission among the Mohawks. He was soon accused as an enchanter who had blighted the Indian harvest and was treacherously murdered; his head was hung upon the village palisades and his body thrown into the waters of the Mohawk. Then the fearful war began.

The Death of Father Jogues

October 18, 1646

The Missions in Huronia

By this time, the "Black Robes" were conspicuous in nearly every Indian community of New France but their greatest work was among the Hurons, the most progressive of the Canadian tribes. In the region between Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe, Brébeuf, Daniel, and Davoust established several stations with a central mission house at Sainte Marie, not far from the present town of Midland. Gradually the Hurons came to lean heavily on the counsel of the missionaries and grew less watchful of the menace of the Long House beyond Lake Ontario.

French Arms, Woven upon a Cope (supposed to have been worked by Anne of Austria) Given by Louis XIV. to Bishop Laval

The Annihilation of the Huron Tribes

July 4, 1648

The Iroquois saw that the union of the French and the northern tribes would be fatal to their confederacy; they therefore resolved upon the annihilation of the Hurons. Startled by the war-cry of the Mohawks, Father Antoine Daniel hastened to baptize the sick and

Map of the Jesuit Missions in Huronia, by the Rev. Arthur E. Jones, S. J.

1648 suppliant at the mission of Saint Joseph, pronounced a
1659 general absolution, and calmly awaited the onrush of the foe who were swooping down on the cross-crowned church. Pierced with arrows and riddled with bullets, his body was cast upon the burning ruins of the chapel. Early in the following year, other missions were attacked. At Saint Louis, Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant were captured. With the fortitude of the early Christian martyrs, they endured unspeakable atrocities until death came to their relief at Saint Ignace—death by fire at the stake. Other villages were destroyed, other prisoners were put to death with tortures the details of which need not be recorded here. The head mission at Sainte Marie escaped destruction but the Huron country had been made a desert and the power of the Huron nation had been destroyed.

Bishop Laval

March 16, 17, 1649

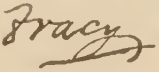
François de Laval

1636–1665

June, 1659

There is no need to follow in detail the feeble successes and the frequent failures of the governors who followed Champlain and preceded Courcelles and Frontenac. Montmagny, Ailleboust, Lauson, Argenson, Avaugour, and Mézy—their names in order meet present demands. A struggle between the priestly orders for a partisan bishop was ended by the appointment of the Jesuit, Laval. His was a militant spirit and the civil rule soon felt his power. In 1663, the

Hundred Associates abandoned their charter and New France become a royal province. Champlain had laid the corner-stone sixty years before, and yet Canada had a total population of only three or four thousand, of whom eight hundred (including the garrison) were at Quebec. 1665 1666



Autograph of Tracy

February 24

In 1665, M. Daniel de Remy de Courcelles, a veteran soldier, was made governor of New France, the first under the new régime. As financial agent and civil administrator, came Jean Baptiste Talon, the ablest intendant ever sent to Canada. The marquis de Tracy also came with a famous royal regiment. His commission named him as lieutenant-general and made him viceroy over all the American domains of France. In September, 1666, Tracy led twelve hundred soldiers and a hundred Indians into the Iroquois country and laid it waste; the five tribes were compelled to sue for peace.

Tracy, Courcelles, and Talon

[80v] LES INTENDANTS DE LA NOUVELLE-FRANCE 60

Nous avons remarqué que les noms favoris dans cette famille sont: *Antoine, Edmé et Nicolas.*

Son anoblissement date de janvier 1681 par Louis XI; Antoine Robert [illegible] sieur de [illegible]

D'azur à trois pattes de griffon d'or, posées deux et une formait leur blason.

III

JEAN TALON, DEUXIEME INTENDANT

Jean Talon fut de fait le premier intendant du Canada; M. Louis Robert, sieur de Fortelle, conseiller du roi, nommé intendant du Canada le 21 mars 1663, ne vint jamais au pays, et ne s'est troublé en [illegible] n'y vint pas même assisté au Conseil d'Etat, de la date ci-haut, où étaient présents: le

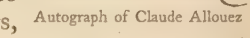
Talon's Portrait and Arms

November 19, 1663

In 1660, Father Menard began a mission at a bay (apparently Keweenaw) on the southern shore of Lake Superior. In the following year, he was separated from his guide and was never seen again. In 1665, Father

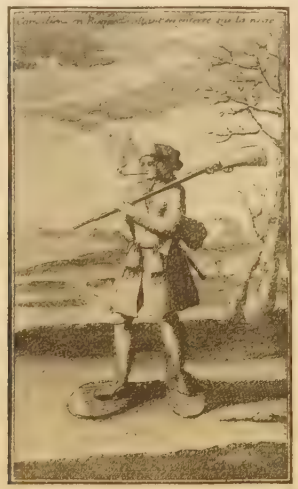
Allouez

1665 Claude Allouez began the mission La Pointe du Saint
1671 Esprit on Chequamegon Bay of Lake Superior, with no station and no countrymen, except a few fur-traders, nearer than Montreal. Later, he founded the mission of Sault Sainte Marie and, leaving it to Father Jacques Marquette, pushed further on to found the mission of
1669 Saint Francis Xavier at Green Bay. The first tree for the first Quaker cabin in Philadelphia had not yet been felled. Allouez was the first of the missionaries to announce the existence of the "Messipi" River.


Autograph of Claude Allouez

Perrot and Jolliet

By this time, Nicholas Perrot and other Frenchmen were west of Lake Michigan in quest of furs and Talon had sent Jolliet and Peré to seek copper on the shores of Lake Superior and to find a way of bringing it to Quebec better than by the Ottawa route. On his return,
1669 Jolliet opened up the great waterway between Lake Huron and Lake Erie. In June, 1671, Sieur de Saint Lusson formed a treaty of friendship with a dozen Indian tribes at the Sault Sainte Marie and, in the name of Louis XIV., took possession of the territory from the north to the south sea and extending to the ocean on the west. It was a counter-play to the English claim for extension "up into the land throughout from sea to sea."


A Canadian Trapper on Snow-shoes

Radisson and Groseilliers

In 1651, Pierre Esprit Radisson, a youth born in France, settled with his parents at Three Rivers on the Saint Lawrence. His widowed sister, Marguerite, married Médard Chouart, sieur des Groseilliers, a fur-trader also born in France. These two men were to spend many years together in exploring unknown regions and

in trading with the Indians. Fortunately, Radisson left a record of his wanderings which, in 1885, was for the first time printed. Attempts to discredit parts of the Radisson relations were ably controverted but the great work of reparation awaited the appearance of a veritable Joan of Arc who, in 1904, swept into the arena to pick up every gauntlet that was thrown down. Radisson's first two "voyages" were among the Iroquois where, as a captive he suffered torture and, as an adopted Mohawk, learned the lessons that fitted him for his great work of exploration. 1658 1660 Agnes C. Laut 1652–1658

When Radisson returned from his second "voyage" he found Groseilliers filled with desire for exploration of the unknown lands of which he had heard at Green Bay. Eager to wrest fame and fortune from the upper country, the two adventurers set out from Three Rivers in June, 1658. At Montreal, they joined a party of Algonkins and, probably by the Ottawa and French River route, made their way to Green Bay where they took up winter quarters. By leading an attack upon a band of marauding Iroquois of whom not one escaped, Radisson won the admiring friendship of the western tribes. Before the end of the winter, the grateful Indians had led the white explorers across Wisconsin to "a mighty river comparable to the Saint Lawrence." Was not this the upper Mississippi? Were not these the discoverers of the great Northwest? If so, they had forestalled Marquette and Jolliet by a dozen years, and La Salle by a score. The Discovery of the Northwest

The explorers seem to have spent the summer among the Sioux. How far westward they went it is not safe to say. In the fall, Groseilliers went into camp to attend to trade while Radisson gave himself up to exploration, learning little more than that Hudson Bay was further from Lake Superior than he had supposed. In the spring of 1660, he and Groseilliers met at the appointed rendezvous on Green Bay whence they returned by way of the Ottawa and with a cargo of furs that saved New France from bankruptcy. By August, they were safely at Montreal and Quebec. Radisson's Third Voyage

The fur trade was the life-blood of New France and

1660 the furs came in light birch-bark canoes "from a vague
1663 Eldorado somewhere round a sea in the North." An
Radisson's Fourth Voyage overland route to Hudson Bay was the key to untold wealth and that key Radisson would have. But when the brothers-in-law applied for a license, the avaricious governor demanded half the profits of the expedition and forbade the two to leave Three Rivers without his permission. In spite of this, they stealthily left the fort one night in August, 1661, and, in October, were at Lake Superior. Before the end of November, they were at the western end of the unsalted sea whence they set out for the Northwest. Somewhere beyond the modern Duluth (others say at Chequamegon Bay), they built a little fort, "the first fur post between the Missouri and the North Pole." The winter was severe and the suffering intense. When the weather moderated the explorers made another visit to the Sioux country, "far beyond the Mississippi," says Miss Laut. A few weeks later, they were with the Crees on their way to the Bay of the North. In the words of Radisson's relation "we went from isle to isle all that summer."

Coat of Arms of the Hudson Bay Company

Confiscation and Expatriation

There has been much dispute whether they actually wet their oars in Hudson Bay but it seems certain that they discovered the watershed sloping thither and crossed the divide. In the spring of 1663, they were back in the region of the Lake of the Woods whence, by way of lakes Superior and Nipissing and the Ottawa River, they returned to Montreal. As they had gone to the upper country without a trader's license, their valuable furs were confiscated. "Of a cargo worth $300,000 in modern money, Radisson and Groseilliers had less than $20,000 left. Henceforth Radisson and Groseilliers were men without a country."

The Cloud Lifted

The subsequent career of Radisson and Groseilliers, their association with Prince Rupert as promoters of the

Hudson Bay company, their easy transfers of allegiance from New France to England, thence to France, and back again, their reckless improvidence equaling their political inconstancy, all this and more is of romantic interest but it hangs loosely hinged to the history of the United States. Rich in faults as well as virtues, Catholics and yet exploring nearly half a continent with little effort for the propagation of the faith, Frenchmen and yet defying France on both sides of the Atlantic, and paying back English double-dealing with coin from the same mint, ignored in consequence by church and state and, for two centuries forgotten or belittled and often traduced by historians, they are at last coming into their own — recognition as the pathfinders of an empire, the great Northwest.

1663 1672

Frontenac Statue at Quebec

Frontenac

Louis de Buade, count de Frontenac, was a soldier who at twenty-six had won the favor of his king. In April, 1672, the king made him governor and lieutenant-general of New France, the successor of Courcelles. Although somewhat lean of purse and banished from the splendors of Saint Germain and the dawning glories of Versailles, Frontenac, at the age of fifty-two, set himself to his work with the elastic vigor of youth. He saw the importance

1672 of pushing the possessions of France beyond the great
1673 lakes and sent Louis Jolliet to find anew the great river that the Indians said flowed southward to the sea. The exploration of Wisconsin and Minnesota by Radisson had been no more fruitful of permanent results than the discovery of Rhode Island by Leif the Lucky.

Autograph of Jolliet

Jolliet and Marquette

Jolliet remained at the straits of Mackinac from December, 1672, until the seventeenth of May, 1673, when he and Marquette, with five *voyageurs*, two Indian guides, and two birch-bark canoes, set out upon their memorable voyage. Paddling their frail craft up Green Bay and Fox River, they found a short portage by which they reached the Wisconsin. Working their way down this stream, their canoes on the seventeenth of June floated into the broad bosom of the upper Mississippi.

Jacques Marquette

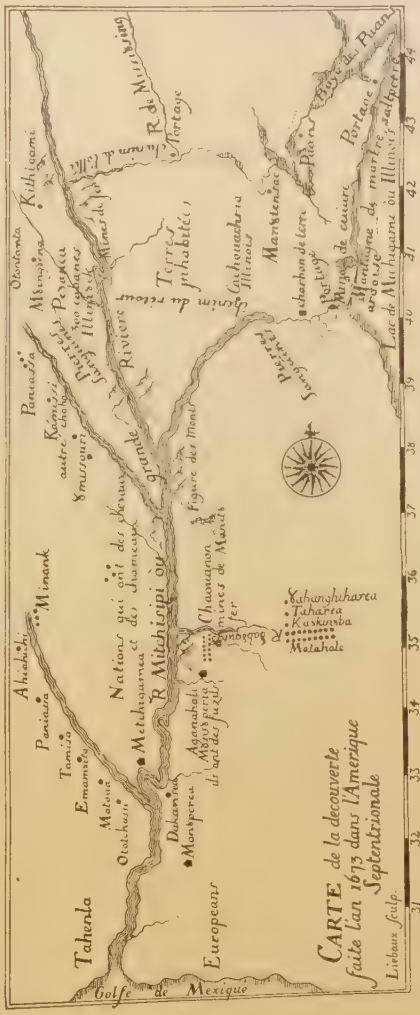
Down the Mississippi

Near the mouth of the Des Moines River, the explorers were hospitably entertained by the friendly Illinois who, at the parting, hung around Marquette the sacred calumet, "the mysterious arbiter of peace and war, a safeguard among the nations." Thence their canoes bore them down the stream, by many an islet clothed with beauty; past the grand confluence of rivers where the Missouri "rushes like a conqueror into the calmer Mississippi;" past the mouth of the Ohio, "la belle rivière;" between impenetrable cane-brakes and through swarms of insects that added their discomfort to that of the summer sun; and past the lower Chickasaw bluffs where no European had stood since De Soto crossed the way a century and a third before. By the middle of

The Calumet

July, the explorers were at the mouth of the Arkansas. 1673
Reports of armed savages deterred them from pursuing the voyage further. 1675
On the return, Jolliet ascended the Illinois and, in September, 1673, crossed by the Chicago portage to Lake Michigan. He arrived at Quebec in August, 1674, and, having lost his box of papers in the Saint Lawrence rapids, prepared from memory an account of the voyage.

Marquette returned to Green Bay with his constitution broken by the hardships that he had endured. His remaining strength was spent in an attempt to establish a mission among the Illinois, on his return from which and in an effort to reach his mission at Saint Ignace on the Mackinac strait, he died at or near the site



Thevenot's Map, Showing Extent of Marquette's Discovery

1667 of the city of Ludington on the eastern shore of Lake
1676 Michigan. In the following year, an Indian procession of thirty canoes bore the bones of the loved missionary from

The Burial of Marquette

the cross-marked grave to the little church at Saint Ignace. There, on the ninth of June, 1676, Marquette's remains were buried in the middle of the chapel. At the end of the century, the church was burned. The site of the old mission was discovered in 1875.

La Salle

About 1667, René-Robert Cavelier, sieur de La Salle, an enterprising Frenchman covetous of fame and fortune, came to Canada. At an early age, he had left the Jesuit school in which he had been a pupil. For this or some other reason, he seems to have incurred the hostility of that powerful order, an ill will that was to plant many a thorn in his path. He obtained a manor from the seminary of Saint Sulpice, the then proprietor and feudal lord of Montreal. As if in mockery of a fancy that the great river would afford a passage to China, La Salle's estate soon received the nickname of La Chine. In 1669, La Salle sold this domain and began his career of exploration. In company with Sulpician priests and others he ascended the Saint Lawrence. At the western end of Lake Ontario, the explorers met Jolliet and Peré on their return from Lake

Marquette's Tombstone

July 6

Superior to Quebec. Here the party was divided. 1670
The Sulpicians wintered on the northern shore of Lake 1673
Erie and, in May, 1670, found Father Marquette at the mission at the Sault Sainte Marie. As the Jesuit missionaries gave scant welcome to the wanderers, the Sulpicians took the Ottawa route and returned to Montreal. June 18

Uncertainty hangs like a cloud over the next two years of La Salle's life. It has been claimed that he reached the Ohio, descended the river to the rapids at Louisville, and retraced his steps, a narrow missing of the honor of the second discovery of the upper Mississippi. The claim has given rise to much discussion. It is probable that, by way of Lake Erie, La Salle reached some affluent of the Mississippi but failed to reach the main river. It is also claimed that, in 1671, two years ahead of Jolliet and Marquette, he crossed the famous portage and thus became the earliest white visitor to the site of Chicago. Two Years of Uncertainty

In 1673, Frontenac sent La Salle to summon the Iroquois chieftains to a council on the northern shore of Lake Ontario. The council was held and Fort Frontenac was built where Kingston stands. Leaving La Salle in command of the garrison, Frontenac began his homeward journey about the time that Jolliet and Marquette began their return from the mouth of the Arkansas. In November, he wrote to the French minister that, with a fort at the mouth of the Niagara and a vessel on Lake Erie, the French could command the upper lakes. Fort Frontenac

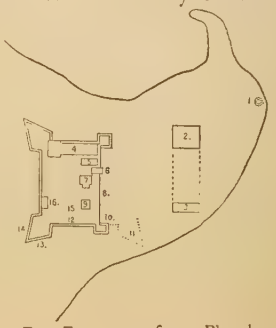
Fort Frontenac and Vicinity

It is worth while to pause a moment to consider what

1674 it meant to command the upper lakes. To the central
1675 plain of North America, there are three great waterways, the Hudson Bay, the Saint Lawrence, and the Mississippi systems. By these three waterways, three men might penetrate to the heart of North America and stand, so to speak, within a stone's throw of one another. From their elevated plateau, each might pass with ease to either of the routes by which the other two had come. The separating watersheds rise to nothing like the dignity of mountains and, in times of high water, it is possible to push a flat-bottomed boat from the basin of the great lakes into the valley of the Mississippi. Many a swamp in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin sent streams in opposite directions, lowland analogues of the imagined pebble upon the Rocky Mountain crest the upturned edge of which separated twin rain-drops sending one to the ocean and the other to the gulf. In such a region, portages were frequent, easy, and important.

Plan of Fort Frontenac and Saint Lawrence River, 1785

The Heart of the Continent



Fort Frontenac, after a Plan by Denonville, November 13, 1685

Hennepin and Duluth

In 1674, La Salle went to France with Frontenac's certificate as to his ability. He arrived at Paris in 1675, just after the prince of Condé had won a victory from the prince of Orange at Seneffe. In the French army at Seneffe were a Franciscan friar,

Louis Hennepin, and a gendarme, Daniel Greysolon Duluth (or Du Lhut). From the king, La Salle received letters of nobility and a grant of Fort Frontenac with lands extending twelve miles along the lake and river. He then returned to Canada accompanied by Hennepin. His business prospered and wealth stood at his door, but fortune tempted him with more brilliant visions. He visited France again and received permission to explore the western parts of New France and to trade therein. From relatives and friends and with the aid of Frontenac, he borrowed all the money that he could, giving as security therefor a mortgage on Fort Frontenac. 1675 1679 May, 1678

In the meantime Duluth appeared in Canada. With three French and three Indian companions, he left Montreal in September, 1678, with permission to explore the region beyond Lake Superior. In July, 1679, he planted the arms of France among the Sioux at Mille Lacs and then pushed his way to other villages many leagues beyond. By the middle of September, he had returned to Lake Superior whence, in the following summer, he passed into a narrow, rapid stream now called Bois Brulé. From its upper waters, a short portage took him to the upper Lake Saint Croix, following the outlet of which he descended to the Mississippi. Duluth in Minnesota

A few weeks after Duluth left Montreal, La Salle returned from France with Henry de Tonty. In January, 1679, the keel of a vessel, named "Le Griffon," was laid at the mouth of the Cayuga Creek, on the "American" side of the Niagara Navigation of the Great Lakes

R Cavelier de la Salle

River, five miles above the falls. La Salle gave the command of the work to Tonty and sent out men to

1679 trade in the country of the Illinois. In May, the astonished Iroquois joined in celebrating the launch of the floating fort that they had tried to burn and partook

Map Showing Locality where the "Griffon" was Built and Launched

freely of the brandy that was distributed with liberality. Clamorous creditors caused delay but, at last, with sails

August 7 all set and the help of tow-lines pulled by men on the bank, the "Griffon" ascended the rapids of the river and floated into Lake Erie. A *Te Deum* was chanted, a salute was fired, and the full-rigged vessel of about forty-five tons burthen boldly plowed the waters of the lake.

The Buffalo-Mackinac Route

On the festival of the virgin Sainte Clare, La Salle and his companions entered and crossed the lake now called Saint Clair. At the upper end of the lake, says Hennepin, "we found the mouth of the Saint Clair river divided into many narrow channels, full of sand bars and shoals." Although Hennepin has been classed with writers who speak the truth by accident and lie by inclination, the sand-bars and the shoals were there. Two centuries and two great nations have failed to remove

The "Griffon" Tablet

them. On the twenty-seventh, they arrived at Mackinac, the seat of the famous Jesuit mission and the center of the fur trade of western New France. Here La Salle found and arrested several of the men whom 1679

The Launching of the "Griffon"

he had sent to trade with the Illinois and whom he supposed to be already among that tribe. Every rival trader hated the "upstart nobleman" and at once became another relentless enemy.

The Loss of the "Griffon"

From Mackinac, the "Griffon" sailed into Lake Michigan (then called Illinois) and soon anchored at the entrance of Green Bay. Here La Salle found another party of traders whom he had sent to the Illinois country and a large quantity of furs that they had gathered. He determined to send the "Griffon" with the peltry back to Niagara and to pursue his further way in canoes. The pilot was put in command and with him went a supercargo and five sailors. They were to take the furs to the storehouse above the great cataract and to ship them thence to Fort Frontenac in satisfaction of the claims of La Salle's creditors. On

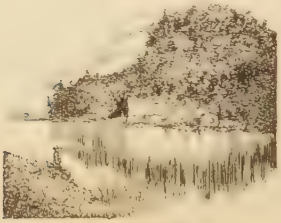
1679 the eighteenth of September, the "Griffon" sailed;
1680 she never arrived at Mackinac; the fate that befell her is not known.

In the Illinois Country

From Green Bay, La Salle and his canoes followed southward along the western shore of the lake, while Tonty and another party went along the eastern. They met at the Saint Joseph River near the southeast corner of the lake. Here they built the palisaded fort of the Miamis and left a garrison of ten men. Together they

December

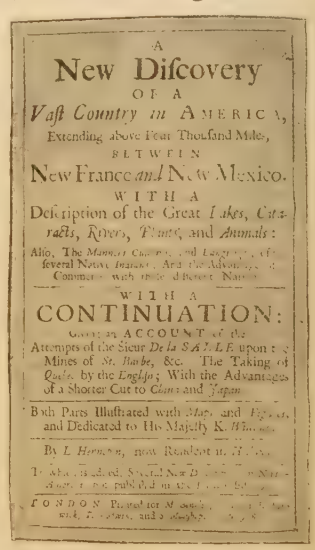
ascended the Saint Joseph, crossed the portage to the Kankakee, and descended that stream to the Illinois River. Near the present town of Utica, in La Salle County, Illinois, was the great village of the Illinois tribe. The explorer resolved to crown the "huge cliff" with a fortress and kept on his way a little further. In January, 1680, he began a fort below Peoria lake and named it Fort Crèvecœur.



"Starved Rock"

Hennepin's Exploration

Late in February, La Salle sent Michel Accault, Antoine Auguelle, and Father Hennepin on a trading and exploring expedition. They went down the Illinois and up the Mississippi, found and named the falls of Saint Anthony, and, after various adventures, hid their canoes in the marshes about three miles below the site of Saint Paul. Thence by land they went to the villages of Mille Lacs. Willingly or unwillingly, Hennepin went down the Mississippi with the Indians on a buffalo hunt and was found or rescued by Du-



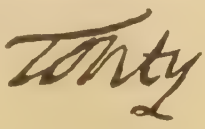
A
New Discovery
OF A
Vast Country in AMERICA,
Extending above Four Thousand Miles,
BETWEEN
New France *and* New Mexico.
WITH A
Description of the Great *Lakes, Cataracts, Rivers, Plants,* and *Animals*:
Also, The *Manners, Customs,* and *Languages* of several Nations *Inhabiting*. And the Advantages of Commerce with those different Nations.
WITH A
CONTINUATION:
Giving an ACCOUNT of the Attempts of the Sieur *De la SALLE* upon the Mines of *St. Barbe*, &c. The Taking of *Quebec* by the *English*; With the Advantages of a Shorter Cut to *China* and *Japan*.
Both Parts Illustrated with *Maps* and *Figures*, and Dedicated to His Majesty K. *William*.
By *L. Hennepin*, now Recollect in *Ireland*.
To which is added, Several *New Discoveries* since made by the Author, not published in the *French* Edition.
LONDON Printed for *M. Sanders* and *T. Bentley*, and *J. Knight*.

Title-page of Hennepin's *New Discovery*

luth who had come from Lake Superior, as already told. In the following decade, Hennepin published his *Nouvelle Decouverte* and his *Nouveau Voyage* which soon appeared as the composite *A New Discovery*. In these works he set up a claim that, in 1680, he made a canoe trip to the mouth of the Mississippi—"an audacious plagiarism" from the published account of Father Zenobe Membré, a companion of La Salle on his memorable voyage of 1682. 1680 1682 Utrecht, 1697 Utrecht, 1698 London, 1698

A Strenuous Year

At Fort Crèvecœur, La Salle laid the keel of a vessel of forty tons in which he and his men were to make their further voyage. Leaving Tonty in charge of the fort, La Salle set out with three companions for Fort Frontenac to get an outfit for his projected vessel. Having made the journey of a thousand miles, he learned of the loss of the "Griffon" and the mutiny of the men left with Tonty and hastened back to the relief of his lieutenant. In September, the Iroquois had laid waste the great village of the Illinois, the ruins of which La Salle beheld on the first of December. Passing the ruins of Fort Crèvecœur without finding any trace of Tonty, La Salle went down the river to its mouth. Tonty had escaped from between the clashing Iroquois and Illinois and made his way in safety to Green Bay. In May, 1681, La Salle met Tonty and Membré at Mackinac and with them returned to Fort Frontenac. He was soon on his westward way with fresh supplies and, in December, crossed the Chicago portage and, with half a hundred French and Indian companions, descended the frozen Illinois. March, 1680



Autograph of Tonty

La Salle's Great Achievement

On the sixth of February, 1682, La Salle's canoes were floating among the ice-cakes of the Mississippi; in a few weeks, they were at the Mississippi delta. Just within one of the mouths of the river, La Salle set up a column with the arms of France and the inscription: "Louis, the Great, king of France and Navarre, reigns this ninth of April, 1682." In the name of his king,

1682 1684 La Salle took formal possession of the newly traversed empire, twice as large as Spain, France, and Germany united, and in his honor called it Louisiana. Then the paddles pushed the turned prows against the current. La Salle was delayed by a fever at the Chickasaw bluffs. With the news of their success, Tonty pushed on to Mackinac where, in September, he was joined by La Salle.

La Salle's Unfortunate Expedition

La Salle soon built Fort Saint Louis at the rock that he had noted on the river near the great Illinois town, brought back the scattered remnants of the tribe, and, leaving Tonty in charge, returned to Quebec. He had found an open way to the heart of an empire that he was trying to lay at the feet of his king, but Canada had no welcome for him. Frontenac had been recalled and the new governor was dominated by influences that were hostile to the explorer. La Salle therefore sailed for France which was then at war with Spain. He had formed the plan of reaching the Mississippi by sea from Europe and making it the way to his projected colony. He easily excited the imagination of his king who gave him more than he asked. An expedition of four vessels and nearly four hundred men sailed in July, 1684, for Louisiana. Everything went wrong. Ships were wrecked or captured by the Spaniards; La Salle and the commander of the squadron quarreled; the Mississippi mouth was missed and the landing made in Texas. Indians and disease were at work and graves were dug every day.

Arms of La Salle

Death of La Salle

On the last day of October, 1685, La Salle set out with fifty men to seek the Mississippi, only to return in

March with a woeful story of mishaps. He set out again in April with his brother and a score. He returned with only eight of the twenty and found the colony reduced from one hundred and eighty to forty-five. 1685 1687

Murder of La Salle

No relief came from France and, in January, 1687, La Salle set out again with sixteen men to seek at his Fort Saint Louis help for the remnant of his colony in Texas. Then came quarrels, the murder of the leader, and the killing of the two assassins. Some of the survivors worked their way to the fort on the Illinois and thence to Canada and France. The French king could not be induced to send relief to the colony in Texas and the Spaniards sent to capture it heard a story of smallpox and slaughter. A full decade went by before France made any effort to take up the work anew.

March 19

De La Barre, Frontenac's successor, was so plainly overmatched by Dongan in New York that, in 1685, Denonville was sent to Quebec as governor. To frustrate English plans, Denonville ordered Duluth with fifty men to the Detroit River where he built a picket fort near the site of Fort Gratiot. To the

De La Barre and Denonville

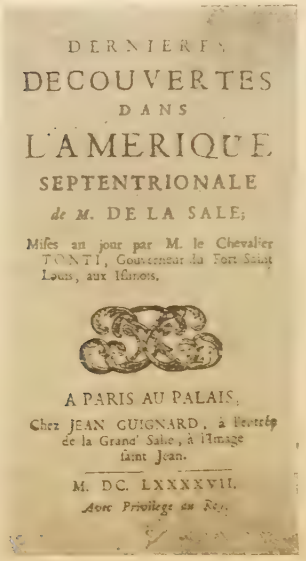
Autograph of Denonville

1687 same end, Durantaye built a stockade at the Chicago
1689 portage and Perrot planted the French flag along the Mississippi above and below the mouth of the Wisconsin — links in the chain of French forts that soon reached from the great lakes to the gulf.

Denonville Strikes the Iroquois

In June, 1687, Denonville gathered a large force at Fort Frontenac where a number of Iroquois were put to torture for the amusement of his Indian allies. Tonty, Duluth, and Durantaye came with reinforcements and, in July, Denonville had at Irondequoit Bay a force nearly three thousand strong. The Genesee country was invaded and the Senecas were chastised. Denonville went back to Montreal and his recruits from the far west returned to their posts. In August, 1689, the Iroquois made an attack upon the settlement at Lachine, killed or captured three or four hundred, and left hardly a French post between Three Rivers and Mackinac. The Senecas had been avenged; Canada seemed paralyzed; terror turned almost to despair.

July 10, 1687

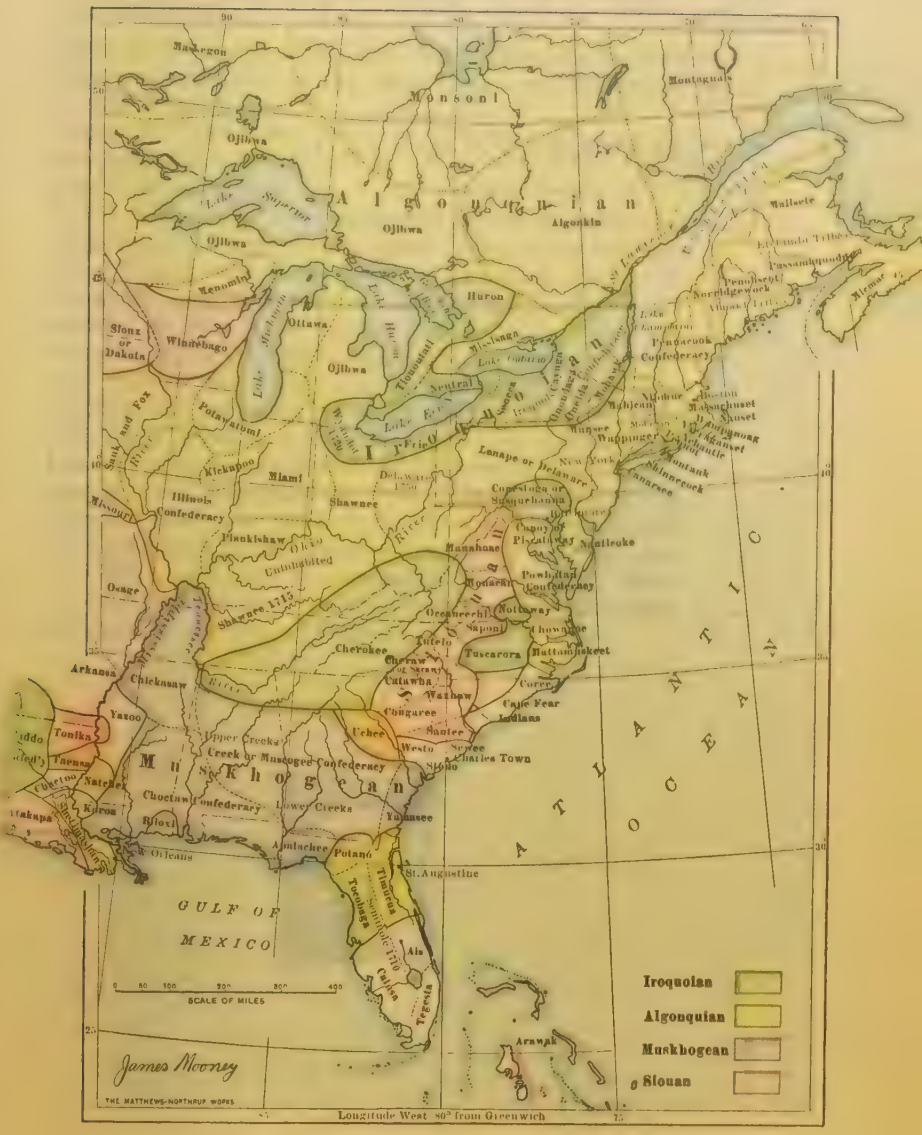

DERNIERES
DECOUVERTES
DANS
L'AMERIQUE
SEPTENTRIONALE
de M. DE LA SALE;
Mises au jour par M. le Chevalier TONTI, Gouverneur du Fort Saint Louis, aux Illinois.
A PARIS AU PALAIS,
Chez JEAN GUIGNARD, à l'entrée de la Grand' Salle, à l'Image saint Jean.
M. DC. LXXXXVII.
Avec Privilege du Roy.

Title-page of Tonty's *Dernieres Decouvertes de M. De la Salle*

The Iroquois Strike Back

The Return of Frontenac

At this time, New France had a population of about twelve thousand while New York and New England had more than a hundred thousand. In spite of government patronage, New France was weak commercially, industrially, and in civic development; her strength lay in the missionary and military instincts of her people. She needed a better leader than Denonville, and Frontenac, now a man of threescore years and ten, was sent back to Canada to capture New York and to expel the Eng-



MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN STOCKS AND TRIBES, BETWEEN 1710–1720

lish from the region of Hudson Bay. After the death of Frontenac, Callières for the French and Lord Bellomont for the English continued the game for the possession of the great valley of the west. 1689 November 28, 1698

Autograph of Frontenac

The key to the most important of the routes to this undeveloped empire was the strait (détroit) that connects Lake Huron with Lake Erie. The Jesuit mission at Mackinac had now become the favorite haunt of the *coureurs de bois;* the captain commanding there was Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac whom Frontenac had sent thither in 1694. From the Jesuit viewpoint, Cadillac was not quite in the order of sanctity. His plan for a permanent settlement on the strait below Lake Huron was explained to Callières at Quebec and accepted by Pontchartrain, the colonial minister in France. Early in June, 1701, Cadillac led westward from Lachine a hundred men among whom was Alphonse de Tonty, brother of the companion of La Salle. Near the west bank of the strait, they built Fort Pontchartrain, the germ of the city of Detroit. Detroit July 24, 1701

CHAPTER X

THE WARS OF THE ROYAL WILLIAM, ANNE, AND GEORGE

1689
1745

L'état c'est moi

ASCENDING the throne in 1643, Louis XIV. made his reign the most brilliant in the history of France. When James II. fled from England to Saint Germain, the French monarch gave him an unstinted welcome and took up the heavy burden of his cause. Declining the modest part of a queen's husband, Prince William placed himself upon the empty English throne and developed the league of Augsburg into "the grand alliance" of England, Austria, Spain, and the United Provinces. France was to be attacked on every side.

1689–1690

The Humiliation of France

With French troops, the exiled James II. crossed into Ireland. Then came the siege of Londonderry and the battle of the Boyne. In 1691, the victorious William met the ambassadors of the allies and declared that "it is no longer the time for deliberation but for action." France had long been fed on glory and intoxicated with pride of conquest. Now she was tiring of it. People were dying of want to the sound of the *Te Deum* and Fénelon wrote anonymously to the king that the whole of France was one vast hospital. In 1697, came the peace of Ryswick. For the first time since the days of Richelieu, France moved back her frontiers. Pope Innocent XII. said of him who had borne to England on his vessels' flags the motto, *Pro libertate et Protestante religione*, that "the prince of Orange is sole arbiter of Europe. People and kings are his slaves."

1689
1745

The Fight for North America

The war that was ended was the first of four the grand result of which was to give England a colonial and maritime supremacy over France. It and the two that came next after were waged nominally over European disputes with the American parts thereof apparently incidental and subordinate. In consequence of this difference in point of view, the war just considered is known in Europe as the palatinate war or the war of the grand alliance, in America, as Frontenac's war or the war of King William. Taken as a whole, these four wars constitute the third part of the struggle for the heart of North America — a grand historic drama in four acts in each of which one contestant is driven from the stage. In the first act, it is Spain; in the second, it is Holland; in the third, it is France; and in the fourth, it is England, the last of the European quartet.

1492–1600
1600–1689
1689–1763
1763–1783

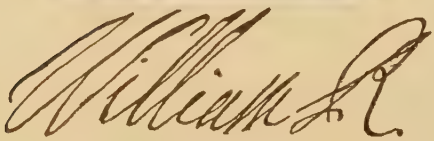
Frontenac in Canada

While Europe was playing her part in the drama, the French in America were waging a *petite guerre* on the English colonists within their reach. In 1689, the French king sent back to Canada the veteran Frontenac

1689 to revive hope and courage in the prostrate colony and to
1745 fight two enemies with a force that had proved inadequate for one. Frontenac resolved to take the offensive "not against the Iroquois, who seemed invulnerable as ghosts, but against the English." He therefore formed three war-parties of picked men, one at Montreal, one at Three Rivers, and one at Quebec; the first to strike at Albany, the second at the border settlements of New Hampshire, and the third at those of Maine.

The Spanish Succession

When the war between Spain and France was ended by the treaty of 1678, Charles II., the feeble king of Spain, married Louise d'Orleans, a niece of Louis XIV. At the end of the century, he was childless, slowly dying, and besieged by competitors for the succession to his throne. He made a will in favor of the prince of Bavaria who died almost as soon as the will was signed. This left, as the principal claimants, Philip, duke of Anjou and grandson of the French king, and Archduke Charles of Austria, second son of the German emperor. Rather than trust the succession to the will of the Spanish king, Louis XIV. entered into secret treaty with England and Holland for the partition of the Spanish king's dominions. The only royal houses then powerful enough to serve as mutual counterpoise were those of Bourbon and of Hapsburg — France and Austria. The secret treaty



divided the Spanish possessions between these two houses. There was great wrath at Vienna when the treaty became known but William of Orange, now king of England, sought to lead the German emperor to an acceptance of the partition and was in negotiation with him to that end when it became known that the Spanish king had died leaving his monarchy by will to the duke of Anjou. For so much as this Louis XIV. had not dared to hope. 1689 1745

November 1, 1700

The War Begun

The rich bequest was loaded down with difficulties. There stood the treaty upon which the ink was scarcely dry. If the duke of Anjou took the Spanish throne, the king of France must go to war. If he made default, the crown would go to the Austrian archduke. Austria would not consent to the partition and the Spaniards said: "We are ready to go to anybody, to go to the dauphin, to go to the devil, so that we all go together." On the sixteenth of November, Louis XIV. introduced the duke of Anjou to his court as Philip V.,

1689–1745 king of Spain, and reserved for him with formal care his claim to the crown of France. In 1701, the exiled James II. died at Saint Germain and Louis XIV. promised to recognize his son as king of England. The violation of the treaty of partition and this death-bed promise were direct insults to the English king and, for once at least, William III. was moved to something like a passion. England, Holland, and Austria formed a second grand alliance — the prelude to the war of the Spanish succession. Before hostilities began, King William died and Queen Anne ascended the English throne.

March, 1702

The Spanish Awakening

Louis XIV. faced the coalition with inferior generals, while the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene of Savoy led the allied forces and established their glory upon the misfortunes of France. In 1704, the battle of Blenheim destroyed the prestige of the French monarch. Then, with the support of England and Portugal, the Austrian archduke contested with Philip V. for the Spanish crown. This aroused the Spanish people from their sleep. Three million Jews and Moors had been expelled and a blight was resting upon the seven millions who remained. There was no Spanish navy; Spanish commerce had died; manufactures and agriculture languished. Now this drowsy, dreaming people took up arms with vigor: Spain could not submit to have an Austrian king imposed upon it by heretics.

France in Distress

From every side, the armies of the French king were driven back into his own kingdom. Riots were common in the French towns and the French troops were starving. Villars, the French marshal, wrote: "Habit is everything, but the habit of not eating is not easy to acquire." The proud king sent his plate to the mint, pawned his jewels, and resolved to ask for peace. The allies demanded concessions so exacting that Louis was forced to appeal to his people. After the victory of Marlborough and Eugene at Malplaquet, the bloodiest battle of the war, Villars wrote to his king: "If God gives us grace to lose another such your majesty may reckon that your enemies are annihilated." Negotiations for peace were

September, 1709

renewed, but the terms offered were such that the French ambassadors exclaimed: "It is evident that you have not been accustomed to conquer," and Louis said: "Since there must be war, let it be against my enemies, rather than against my grandson." 1689 1745

The Treaty of Utrecht

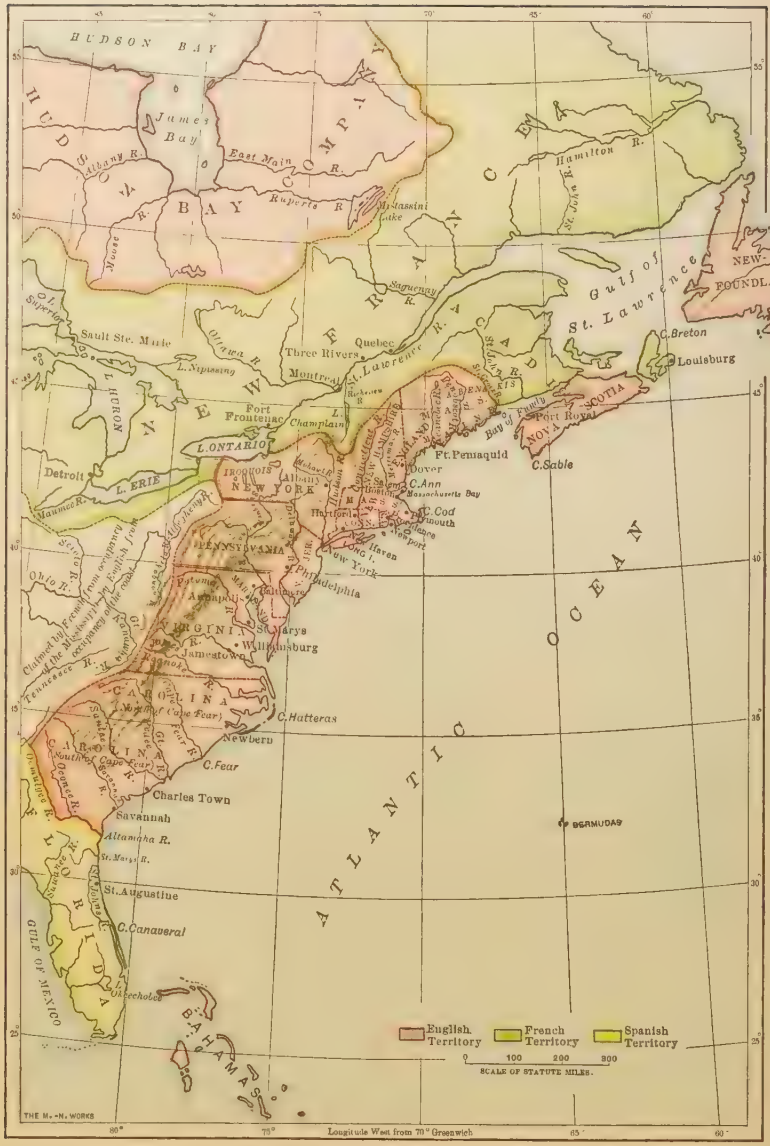
Events now conspired to save France. In 1711, the death of the emperor without a son left Archduke Charles as successor to the Austrian throne and an aspirant for the imperial crown. To give into his keeping the undivided Spanish monarchy would be to create anew the sway of Charles V.—and for that Europe was not prepared. In England, the peace party came into power and secret negotiations were begun. By August, 1712, France and England had agreed upon the points at issue and Holland, Portugal, Prussia, and Savoy soon came into the combination. In April, 1713, nine distinct treaties, collectively known as the treaty of Utrecht, were signed and the universal war was ended.

The Birth of Great Nations

Louis, who had reigned threescore years and ten, obtained better terms for France than he had expected. He ceded to England Hudson Bay, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, a foreshadowing of the end of the long struggle for American supremacy and the complete expulsion of the French. Philip V. was recognized as king of Spain which gave up her possessions in the Netherlands and most of those in Italy to Austria, and Gibraltar and Minorca to England. Prussia received increase of territory and, from a duchy, became a kingdom. Thence, Bismarck, Von Moltke, and the German empire of today. The duke of Savoy received Sicily, part of the duchy of Milan, and recognition as a king. In 1720, Sicily was exchanged for Sardinia which, with the continental possessions of the king, was erected into the kingdom of Sardinia. Thence, Cavour, Victor Emanuel, and united Italy.

The African Slave Trade

By the "assiento" contract, Spain gave to England a monopoly of the supply of negroes for the Spanish-American colonies. To America, this was one of the most important matters covered by the treaty of Utrecht.



America after the Treaty of Utrecht

"Her British Majesty does offer and undertake for the persons whom she shall appoint, that they shall bring into the West Indies of America belonging to His Catholick Majesty," in the next thirty years one hundred and forty-four thousand negroes, at the rate of four thousand eight hundred a year—they might bring as many more as they pleased. Queen Anne took a quarter of the stock and King Philip took another quarter; the remaining half was divided among English subjects. England had long been the protector of the slave trade and now her queen and the Spanish king became the largest slave merchants ever known. The assiento was transferred by the government to the South Sea company, the blowers of the famous South Sea bubble.

1689
1745

ANNA

How the War Affected American Geography

The treaty of Utrecht protected the balance of power in Europe but it scattered the seeds of war broadcast throughout the world and led to results of vital importance to English dominion in America. During the progress of the war, the central colonies were not disturbed, although South Carolina and New England were involved directly, as will appear in later chapters. The demands that the war made upon English resources were the chief cause of the exactions that were characteristic of the British colonial policy in this period, and must be kept in mind if one is to realize the full significance of the immediately following chapters. The distresses that the war brought to France and Spain explain the otherwise inexplicable neglect of their possessions in America. France gave up part of New France and was

1689–1745

left too weak for the protection of the rest. Spain was shorn of her European dependencies but was left with her vast colonial empire and her narrow colonial policy; a ship with weakened hulk, little ballast, and enormous spread of canvas.

How it Affected American Independence

It was inevitable that political policies in Europe and colonial expansion in America and rival interests of the fish and fur trade should bring French and English colonists into hostile contact. More than any other thing, the danger from the French and the Indians made the English colonists in America dependent upon the mother country and thus, perhaps, delayed the declaration of American independence nearly a century. For the single reason that any adequate understanding of American colonial history of the eighteenth century requires as a background at least an outline of these European wars, the rivalries that caused them, and the conditions that resulted from them, this chapter has been written.

King William's War 1689–1697

Of these three wars in America, King William's war was but the fringe of the war of the grand alliance, the great European contest that grew from the accession of the prince of Orange to the English throne. To us it is familiar chiefly through the stories of the massacres at Schenectady and Salmon Falls, the seizure and plunder of Port Royal, and the failure of both parts of a duplex plan, the attempt to conquer Canada by an army sent by way of Lake Champlain and the attempt to capture Quebec by a fleet sent by way of the lower Saint Lawrence. In 1697, it was ended by the treaty of Ryswick.

Queen Anne's War

Soon after the treaty of Ryswick, Frontenac died and was succeeded by Callières who maintained the able and vigorous policy of his predecessor. Detroit was occupied, the most important passes to the west were guarded, another New France was set up at the mouth of the Mississippi, and military lines of communication were established from the Saint Lawrence to the gulf. Meantime, the English colonies lay almost passive by the sea. The waiting was not long, for the next war

was in reality a continuation of the first. Best known in this country as Queen Anne's war, it was the American phase of the war of the Spanish succession. Its most important events were the second capture of Port Royal (Annapolis) and two more vain attempts to conquer Canada, one by land and one by sea—as before. It was ended by the treaty of Utrecht. 1689–1745 1702–1713

When the war of the Austrian succession broke out in Europe, there began in America between the French and English colonists a war known as King George's war. Its most heroic exploit was the capture of Louisburg by the New England expedition led by William Pepperrell and aided by a British fleet. This success was followed by the formidable, unsuccessful, and almost forgotten duplex scheme for the conquest of Canada in 1746. In 1748, the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle left matters in such condition that peace could not last long on either continent. Close on the heels of Aix-la-Chapelle came the English invasion of the over-mountain country, speculation in western lands, the formal occupation of the Ohio valley in the name of the king of France, and the first historical appearance of George Washington. By this time, the old unsettled issues and the new had become too tangled for the diplomatists who handed to soldiers the knot that they could not untie. Some of the American events of these European wars will be considered in chapters that are to follow. Other such events, including the story of how the soldiers cut the knot that the diplomatists could not untie, eliminated New France from the map of North America, and thus gave birth to a great republic, must wait for a later volume. King George's War 1744–1748

CHAPTER XI

BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY—ECONOMIC

1689
1745

FOR nearly a hundred years, American historical writers habitually characterized the British colonial policy of the eighteenth century as malicious and tyrannical, but said little about what that policy really was. Meanwhile, English writers were accusing their American brethren of partisan unfairness, but giving no clear idea of the system they were trying to defend. The practical workings of the system on both sides of the Atlantic should be examined in detail and surveyed as a whole as one stands, not under the meridian of Greenwich or that of Washington, but in longitude about thirty degrees west from the former.

Raison d'être

No such system can, with fairness, be judged absolutely; merit depends much upon relation. Thus considered, the British colonial policy of this period was liberal. The administration of the Spanish colonies was bad, almost bad enough to deserve the judgments that have been passed upon it. Governmental monopolies strangled the trade and prosperity of New France. The Dutch colonies in America existed only for the benefit of a trading company. It was the accepted policy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that the only mission of a colony was to feed its mother country.

Monopoly

The idea of monopoly dominated colonial policy from the discovery of America down to the American revolution. It was the object of the first papal bulls regarding the New World and of the charters of the great trading

companies. According to what Adam Smith called the mercantile system, the commercial prosperity of a country depended on the maintenance and extension of a sole market for its productions and supplies. The English colonies were to furnish raw materials in exchange for English manufactured goods. Thus gold would flow into England; thus the balance of trade would be on the right side. For the economists of that time it was not enough that the British empire as a whole held the "balance." 1689 1745

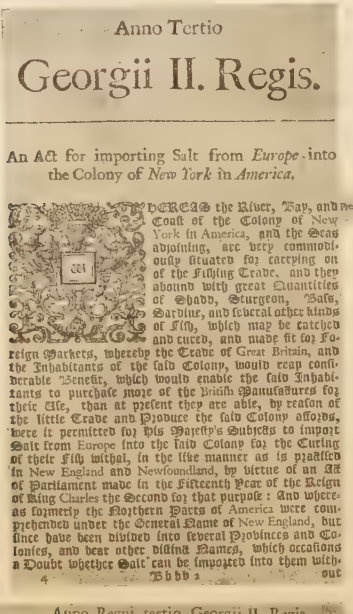
Balancing Errors

The benefits of the colonial system were said to be reciprocal but the colonists drifted into the notion that they had all the losses and the British manufacturer and merchant all the gains. It has been urged that not until "after the conflict had begun, when imagination was already playing tricks with memory," were the commercial restrictions put in the foreground and represented as oppressive. This extreme putting of the case is a fair offset to the tendency long prevalent among American historians to insist that the mother country forced the American revolution by a century of persistent, intentional and cumulative economic injury.

The Economic Interpretation of History

The navigation acts of the seventeenth century were parts of a plan to increase English trade. As indicated in a preceding volume, the legislation of that period regarded the American colonies chiefly as commercial appendages. The policy was rough-shaped in the commonwealth period, but under Charles II. it was given definite form. By the law, England became the middleman and pocketed the profits. That the commercial aspect of this policy continued to dominate the political, judicial, military, and ecclesiastical aspects after the revolution of 1688 is illustrated by the fact that, of the sixty statutes passed by parliament between 1689 and 1765 for the government of the colonies, nearly fifty were for the regulation of colonial trade. In the second quarter of the eighteenth century the general policy of persistent interference and rigid repression had largely given way to one of *laissez faire*. But even then, the

1689 rights and interests of the plantations in America did not
1745 enter into the consideration. For instance, the salt act of 1730 made it lawful "for any of His Majesty's subjects to carry and import salt from any Part of Europe into the colony of New York in America in British ships and vessels" because, as the language of the act sets forth, the improvement of the fishing trade "would enable the said inhabitants to purchase more of the British manufactures for their Use than at present they are able." In like manner, the indigo act of 1748 authorized a bounty of six pence per pound because "the making of Indico in the British Plantations in America would be advantageous to the Trade of this Nation, as great Quantities are used in dying the Manufactures of this Kingdom."



Anno Tertio

Georgii II. Regis.

An Act for importing Salt from *Europe* into the Colony of *New York* in *America*.

WHEREAS the River, Bay, and Coast of the Colony of New York in America, and the Seas adjoining, are very commodiously situated for carrying on of the Fishing Trade, and they abound with great Quantities of Shadd, Sturgeon, Bass, Sardine, and several other kinds of Fish, which may be catched and cured, and made fit for Foreign Markets, whereby the Trade of Great Britain, and the Inhabitants of the said Colony, would reap considerable Benefit, which would enable the said Inhabitants to purchase more of the British Manufactures for their Use, than at present they are able, by reason of the little Trade and Produce the said Colony affords, were it permitted for His Majesty's Subjects to import Salt from Europe into the said Colony for the Curing of their Fish withal, in the like manner as is practised in New England and Newfoundland, by virtue of an Act of Parliament made in the Fifteenth Year of the Reign of King Charles the Second for that purpose: And whereas formerly the Northern Parts of America were comprehended under the General Name of New England, but since have been divided into several Provinces and Colonies, and bear other distinct Names, which occasions a Doubt whether Salt can be imported into them without

Bbbb 2

284 Anno Regni tertio Georgii II. Regis.

out the further Aid of Parliament, by which a very considerable and beneficial Fishery might be carried on there, to the great Benefit of Your Majesty's Subjects in General: May it therefore please Your most Excellent Majesty that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled; and by the Authority of the same, That from and after the First Day of June, One thousand seven hundred and thirty, it shall and may be lawful to and for any of His Majesty's Subjects, to carry and import Salt from any Part of Europe, into the Colony of New York in America, in British Ships and Vessels, manned and navigated according to the Act of Parliament made in the Twelfth Year of the Reign of King Charles the Second intituled, An Act for the encouraging and increasing of Shipping and Navigation; and in the same manner as Salt may be imported from Europe into New England and Newfoundland, by an Act made in the Fifteenth Year of the Reign of the said King Charles the Second intituled, An Act for the Encouragement of Trade; any Law, Statute, Usage, or Custom to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

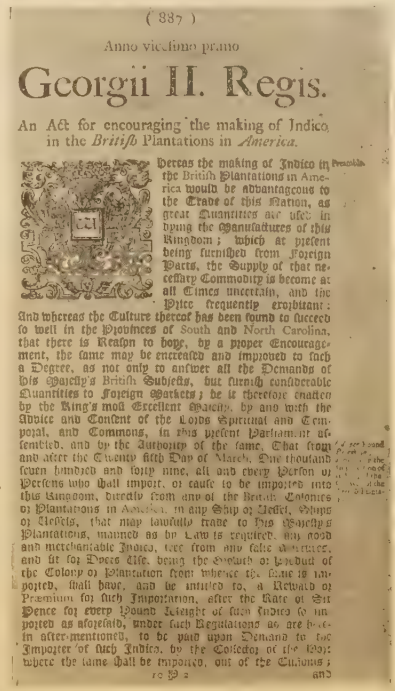
The Salt Act

Debit and Credit

Although the motive for this legislation was essentially selfish, there were mitigating features that were long unrecognized even in England. For example, the act of 1660, by its exclusion of foreign ships, stimulated colonial shipbuilding. In

1724, the shipbuilders of the Thames complained of injury by New England competition and appealed to parliament for relief. Under the protection of the naval power of England there was an expansion of American commerce largely carried on in American-built ships.

1689 1745



(887)

Anno vicesimo primo

Georgii II. Regis.

An Act for encouraging the making of Indico in the *British* Plantations in *America*.

Whereas the making of Indico in the British Plantations in America would be advantageous to the Trade of this Nation, as great Quantities are used in dying the Manufactures of this Kingdom; which at present being furnished from Foreign Parts, the Supply of that neceſſary Commodity is become at all Times uncertain, and the Price frequently exorbitant: And whereas the Culture thereof has been found to ſucceed ſo well in the Provinces of South and North Carolina, that there is Reaſon to hope, by a proper Encouragement, the ſame may be encreaſed and improved to ſuch a Degree, as not only to anſwer all the Demands of his Majeſty's Britiſh Subjects, but furniſh conſiderable Quantities to Foreign Markets; be it therefore enacted by the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, That from and after the Twenty fifth Day of March, One thouſand ſeven hundred and forty nine, all and every Perſon or Perſons who ſhall import, or cauſe to be imported into this Kingdom, directly from any of the Britiſh Colonies or Plantations in America, in any Ship or Veſſel, Ships or Veſſels, that may lawfully trade to his Majeſty's Plantations, manned as by Law is required, any good and merchantable Indico, free from any falſe Mixtures, and fit for Dyers Uſe, being the Growth or Product of the Colony or Plantation from whence the ſame is imported, ſhall have, and be intitled to, a Reward or Premium for ſuch Importation, after the Rate of Six Pence for every Pound Weight of ſuch Indico ſo imported as aforeſaid, under ſuch Regulations as are hereinafter-mentioned, to be paid upon Demand to the Importer of ſuch Indico, by the Collector of the Port where the ſame ſhall be imported, out of the Cuſtoms;

10 Geo 2 and

Act to Encourage the Making of Indigo

The act of 1660 forbade the exportation of certain articles from the colonies to any country except England or some other English plantation. Of the "enumerated" articles, tobacco was the only commodity produced by any of the colonies that subsequently revolted. Emphasis has been given to the fact that the placing of colonial tobacco on the list of "enumerated" articles was a source of profit to the English middleman. The mitigating facts that the growth of tobacco in England was prohibited at the same time and that the duties on Spanish tobacco were three times as high as those upon the American product have not been given equal prominence. In spite of the fact that, in the Cromwellian era, the cultivation of tobacco had spread rapidly in the mother country, the planters of Virginia and Maryland were given a practical monopoly of the English tobacco market.

Enumerated Articles

The restrictive and repressive legislation of the seventeenth century was supplemented, early in the eighteenth, by the addition of rice and the group of

Rice and Naval Stores

1704–1706

1689–1745 colonial products known as naval stores to the list of "enumerated" articles. Thus Carolina lost the Portuguese market to which she was shipping a fifth of her great staple. After 1730, the restriction was so far removed that Carolina rice might be shipped to ports south of Cape Finisterre. Five years later, the restriction was removed from the Georgia product. In 1699, Lord Bellomont, then governor of New York and Massachusetts, submitted to the lords of trade a thoughtful plan for "furnishing Naval Stores for the Service of his Majesty and the nation of England from these his Majestie's colonies. . . . I would have the soldiers imployed to worke at making them at full English pay." The enumerated naval stores consisted of masts, hemp, tar, and pitch. In the year preceding their enumeration, a bounty was offered for their importation from the colonies into England. The chief purpose of the government was to free the British navy from the trammels of a foreign source of supply. There were other motives, of course, but few have dared to claim that a desire to promote the welfare of the colonies was among them.

3 George II., cap. 28

8 George II., cap. 19

The Incidental Benefit

An interesting feature of this effort was the attempt of Governor Hunter of New York to transfer laborers from the palatinate to his province. The British government supplied money for their transportation and maintenance; the compensation was to be in labor on the naval stores. The migrations of 1711 and 1722 thus added ten per cent to the population of the province. The enterprise resulted in a loss of twenty thousand pounds and the planting of an industrious and thrifty German element along the Hudson and in the Mohawk valley where such names as Palatine Bridge and German Flats preserve their memory.

Shoes of the Palatines

There is some uncertainty as to the effect produced by

the proffered bounties on masts. Fines were imposed for felling trees under a certain size on the uninclosed lands in New England, New York, and New Jersey and certain trees were marked with a broad arrow to indicate that they were reserved for the king's navy. The colonists cut the trees just under the regulation size, divided the "uninclosed lands" into townships, and counterfeited the arrow. The prohibitions became more and more stringent, but each new statute was met with evasion or defiance. In spite of the proffer of the bounty and the removal of the duty, the colonists produced scarcely enough hemp for their own use.

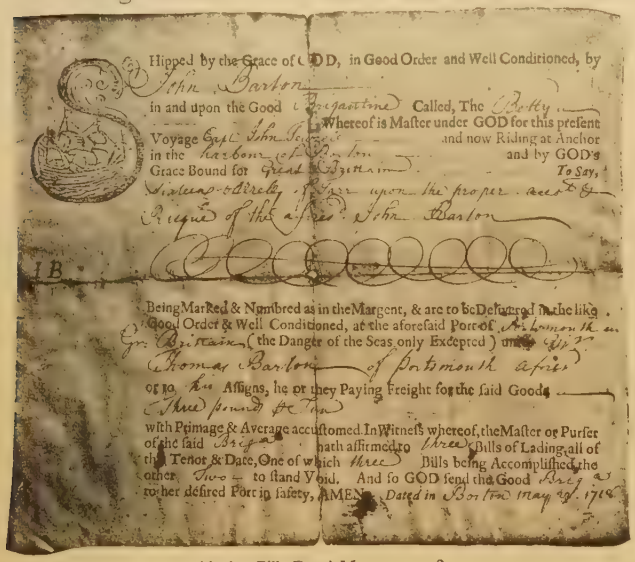
1689
1745

Masts and Hemp

The Frey House, Palatine Bridge
(Built in 1739)

In strong contrast with these failures is the success

Pitch and Tar



Shipped by the Grace of GOD, in Good Order and Well Conditioned, by
John Barton
in and upon the Good [illegible] Brigantine Called, The Betty
Whereof is Master under GOD for this present
Voyage Capt John [illegible] and now Riding at Anchor
in the Harbour of Boston and by GOD's
Grace Bound for Great Britain To Say,
Being Marked & Numbred as in the Margent, & are to be Delivered in the like
Good Order & Well Conditioned, at the aforesaid Port of Portsmouth in
Gr. Britain (the Danger of the Seas only Excepted) unto Mr
Thomas Barton of Portsmouth aforesd
or to Hs Assigns, he or they Paying Freight for the said Goods
Three pounds & Ton
with Primage & Average accustomed. In Witness whereof, the Master or Purser
of the said Brigt hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading, all of
this Tenor & Date, One of which three Bills being Accomplished, the
other Two to stand Void. And so GOD send the Good Brig
to her desired Port in safety, AMEN. Dated in Boston May 22. 1718

Shipping Bill, Dated May 22, 1718

1689 1745 attained in the production of pitch and tar, an industry well adapted to the physical conditions of the Carolinas. In 1704, England imported from continental Europe more than sixty thousand barrels of pitch and tar and, from the colonies, less than one thousand barrels. By 1718, the importation from Europe had fallen to ten thousand barrels and the colonial supply had risen to more than eighty thousand barrels.

Copper and Beaver

The English navy also needed copper and, in 1722, exaggerated reports of rich finds led to the "enumeration" of that metal. Other than as an evidence of a selfish purpose on the part of the government in England, the enumeration was of no effect upon the colonies. The enumeration of beaver-skins in 1722 was not more serious. Neither restriction nor favor had any substantial effect on a branch of trade bound speedily to disappear. In fact, the enumeration of the English acts of trade did not bear very grievously upon New England prosperity for, with the exception of masts and bowsprits, none of the staple articles of her trade, fish, vessels, timber, or rum, were denied a market wherever it could be found. We must look elsewhere for an explanation of the growing political alienation.

A Copper Rosa Americana, 1722

Restricted Industry

Another class of restrictions imposed by the legislation of this period related to manufacturing industries. The effect of these restrictions upon the economic development of America has been the occasion of much discussion, ranging all the way from justification to denunciation. It was evident that if the colonists engaged in manufactures they would consume fewer goods of English make and that they would produce less of the raw materials needed for home industries. Moreover, if the colonists became self-sustaining they might think of independence. The colonial governors

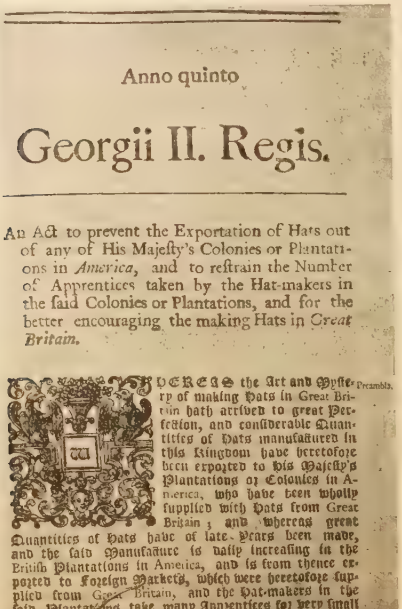
were instructed to report such industrial attempts that they might be nipped in the bud. 1689 1745

These industrial restrictions involved little difficulty south of Pennsylvania. Maryland and Virginia gave almost exclusive attention to tobacco, North Carolina to naval stores, and South Carolina to rice and indigo. Owing to economic conditions and English vigilance, the southern colonies remained agricultural colonies. It is said that Virginia timber was sent to England for manufacture and that the boards into which it was cut were returned for the building of colonial homes. North of Maryland, conditions were quite different. The northern colonies had no staple like tobacco for which the English market was exclusively reserved, the character of the country was well adapted for manufactures, and, in the early eighteenth century, the coming of an army of trained artisans from Ireland and Germany gave an impetus to mechanical industry. In the Southern Colonies. In the Northern Colonies.

England's woolen industries furnished half the exports to the colonies; threatened competition from New England, New York, and Pennsylvania awakened alarm among English artisans and merchants. In 1699, parliament enacted that no wool, yarn, or woolen cloth produced in the colonies should be "exported, transported, carried or conveyed out of the said English plantations to any other of the said plantations, or to any other place whatsoever." The language of the statute has been differently interpreted. On one hand, it is urged that the act forbade the New Jersey weaver to deliver the product of his loom to his customer across the river in New York city. On the other hand, it is claimed that the only object was to prevent all manufacture for a distant market. The motive back of the legislation is clear; the only question is whether that legislation was of serious injury to the colonies or not. Woolen Goods. 10 and 11, William III., cap. 10, § xix

A paper drawn up in London in 1767 by Benjamin Franklin rehearses the American argument that "beaver furs are the natural produce of that country," and that "yet the hatters of England have prevailed to obtain an The Hat Act

1689 act in their own favour, restraining the manufacture of
1745 hats in America." This hat act was passed by parliament in 1732. Its selfish purpose sufficiently appears in the title and in the preamble of the act. As to the effect of the new law, it should be said that the diminution in the supply of beaver-skins had already caused a decline in the trade, and it is probable that the act was not very rigidly enforced; in 1759, a writer stated that better beaver hats were made in Pennsylvania than in Europe.



Anno quinto

Georgii II. Regis.

An Act to prevent the Exportation of Hats out of any of His Majesty's Colonies or Plantations in *America*, and to restrain the Number of Apprentices taken by the Hat-makers in the said Colonies or Plantations, and for the better encouraging the making Hats in *Great Britain*.

WHEREAS the Art and Mystery of making Hats in Great Britain hath arrived to great Perfection, and considerable Quantities of Hats manufactured in this Kingdom have heretofore been exported to his Majesty's Plantations or Colonies in America, who have been wholly supplied with Hats from Great Britain; and whereas great Quantities of Hats have of late Years been made, and the said Manufacture is daily increasing in the British Plantations in America, and is from thence exported to Foreign Markets, which were heretofore supplied from Great Britain, and the Hat-makers in the said Plantations take many Apprentices for very small Terms, to the Discouragement of the said Trade, and debasing the said Manufacture; Wherefore for preventing

Preambl.

5 C

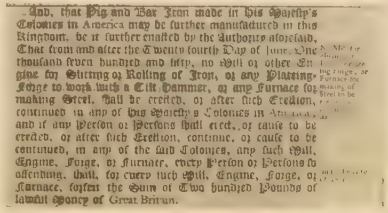
Act to Prevent the Exportation of Hats from the American Colonies

Iron Works Shut Up

Toward the end of the period under consideration, there came a more serious interference with industrial possibilities in America. Earnest efforts had been made to encourage the manufacture of iron and the new industry grew to importance, especially in New England and Pennsylvania. "For colonists to manufacture like Englishmen was esteemed an audacity to be rebuked and to be restrained by every device of law." In 1719, a bill was introduced into parliament to prohibit iron-making in the colonies. This bill was dropped, but English manufacturers continued to demand the prohibition of colonial forges, and English landlords and clergy (with eyes keenly fixed on the value of English forest lands)

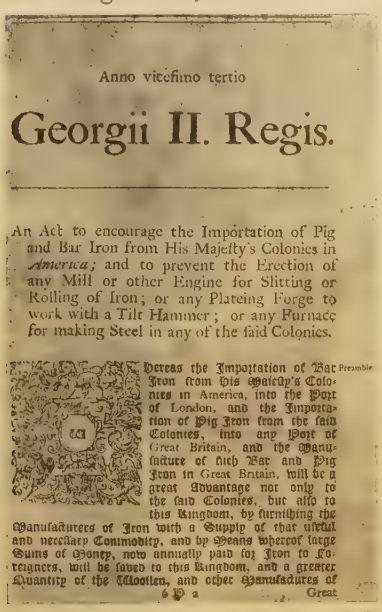
to ask for the destruction of colonial furnaces; they were "common nuisances." In 1750, it was enacted that no mill for rolling or slitting iron, no plating forge to work with a tilt-hammer, nor any furnace for making steel should be built in the colonies. In his attempt to show that the injury inflicted on America by the commercial legislation of England was insignificant, Professor Ashley confesses that iron is the weak point of his argument.

1689
1745



And, that Pig and Bar Iron made in his Majesty's Colonies in America may be further manufactured in this Kingdom, be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That from and after the Twenty fourth Day of June, One thousand seven hundred and fifty, no Mill or other Engine for Slitting or Rolling of Iron, or any Plateing-Forge to work with a Tilt Hammer, or any Furnace for making Steel, shall be erected, or after such Erection, continued in any of his Majesty's Colonies in America, and if any Person or Persons shall erect, or cause to be erected, or after such Erection, continue, or cause to be continued, in any of the said Colonies, any such Mill, Engine, Forge, or Furnace, every Person or Persons so offending, shall, for every such Mill, Engine, Forge, or Furnace, forfeit the Sum of Two hundred Pounds of lawful Money of Great Britain.

Act Forbidding the Erection of Iron Mills in the American Colonies



Anno vicesimo tertio

Georgii II. Regis.

An Act to encourage the Importation of Pig and Bar Iron from His Majesty's Colonies in *America*; and to prevent the Erection of any Mill or other Engine for Slitting or Rolling of Iron; or any Plateing Forge to work with a Tilt Hammer; or any Furnace for making Steel in any of the said Colonies.

Whereas the Importation of Bar Iron from his Majesty's Colonies in America, into the Port of London, and the Importation of Pig Iron from the said Colonies, into any Port of Great Britain, and the Manufacture of such Bar and Pig Iron in Great Britain, will be a great Advantage not only to the said Colonies, but also to this Kingdom, by furnishing the Manufacturers of Iron with a Supply of that useful and necessary Commodity, and by Means whereof large Sums of Money, now annually paid for Iron to Foreigners, will be saved to this Kingdom, and a greater Quantity of the Woollen, and other Manufactures of

Preamble

6 P 2 Great

Act to Encourage the Importation into England of American Pig and Bar Iron

Free Trade in Raw Products

To the other side of the ledger account properly goes the removal of the previous heavy duties on American iron imported into England. English iron-masters and landlords made strenuous opposition but the advocates of the new economic system carried the day. The significant facts are that the duties on Swedish and other foreign iron were left untouched, while American bar-iron was admitted duty free at the port of London and American pig-iron at any port in England. This worked to the profit of Maryland and Virginia, but the new restriction fell on New England with unmitigated severity.

1689
1745
The British West Indies

From Newfoundland to Honduras were continental and insular plantations dependent upon England in much the same way as were the thirteen colonies that subsequently revolted. The West Indian English exported sugar, rice, cotton, and other tropical products, none of which interfered with English industry. They were oppressed by a few provisions of the navigation acts and, economically and geographically, were in closer touch with America than with England, but when, in later years, Washington proposed to "annex the Bermudas and thus possess a nest of hornets to annoy the British trade," he found that the islanders were proof against his overtures. The influence of this tropical loyalty on the British colonial policy of the eighteenth century has been too often ignored in the study of the relations between Great Britain and her colonies.

The Corn Laws

The corn legislation of England stood without change from the time of Elizabeth to the restoration in 1660. Export and import duties were then imposed, the needs of the exchequer being the paramount consideration. Attention was soon demanded for the interests of the agricultural class and export duties were reduced or abolished; but import duties remained practically prohibitory and so continued until the passage of Burke's act of 1773. As English "corn" signified wheat, rye, oats, and barley, the colonial farmer was unable to pay in grain for the manufactured products that he had to import from England. The New Englander therefore sought the most natural intermediate market, the West Indies. The profits of this traffic enabled the continental colonists to send the favorable "balance" to the mother country.

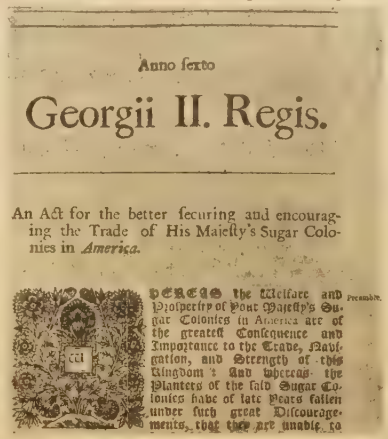
New England Rum

When the English West Indies were no longer able to consume the surplus products of New England, a thriving trade with the French West Indies was begun. As France would not receive the rum and molasses of her islands because of competition with French brandy, the French colonists were eager for the New England traffic and gladly undersold the English island planter.

The West India molasses thus obtained was converted into rum—some of it for home consumption and some for the African slave trade. After 1720, distilleries or "still-houses" became numerous in New England—Newport had twenty-two. The distillate was easily merchantable and, with the proceeds of the business, the New Englander paid his debts to the English manufacturer. 1689 1745

But New England prosperity did not reconcile the British West Indian planter to his losses. In 1731, the house of commons passed a bill forbidding the importation of sugar, molasses, or rum from foreign plantations into Great Britain, Ireland, or any of the American colonies under pain of forfeiture. The peers killed the bill but, in 1733, both houses passed the molasses act. This disguised the real intention of destroying the commerce in question by laying prohibitory duties on sugar, molasses, and rum imported from foreign plantations, especially the French West Indies, into any of the English colonies, and extending certain privileges to the sugar trade of the English islands. The act was "unmistakably ill-advised." The colonists had to evade either the molasses act or the statutes prohibiting manufactures; they followed the path of minimum resistance and maximum profit; in the period now under consideration, the molasses act become practically a dead letter. When the English government subsequently adopted the policy of making revenue rather than the control of trade their

The Molasses Act



Anno ſexto

Georgii II. Regis.

An Act for the better ſecuring and encouraging the Trade of His Maieſty's Sugar Colonies in *America*.

WHEREAS the Welfare and Preamble.
Proſperity of Your Majeſty's Sugar Colonies in America are of the greateſt Conſequence and Importance to the Trade, Navigation, and Strength of this Kingdom: And whereas the Planters of the ſaid Sugar Colonies have of late Years fallen under ſuch great Diſcouragements, that they are unable to

1689–1745 prime purpose, the act became a practical grievance. The molasses act was more than an economic mistake; it was a political blunder and tended to familiarize the continental colonists with a disregard for law and a contempt for parliamentary acts that became still more manifest in the revolutionary epoch.

Smuggling

There has been no little discussion, especially in late years, concerning the extent to which smuggling was carried by the English colonists on account of the acts of trade. The colonists guarded their political rights more jealously than they did their commercial privileges. One reason for this may lie in the fact that if a charter was taken away, it was for them a calamity without remedy, but that, if obnoxious duties were imposed, relief by illegal traffic was quick and easy.

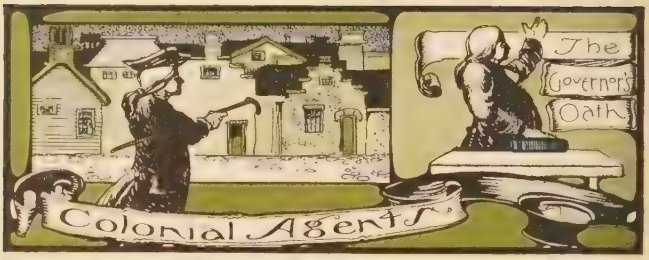
In England

At the end of the seventeenth century, according to Macaulay, there was much unlawful trading for which the English colonies were not responsible: "Fleets of boats with illicit cargoes have been passing and repassing between Kent [England] and Picardy [France]. . . . All the inhabitants of the southeastern coast were in the plot. It was a common saying among them that, if a gallows were set up every quarter of a mile along the coast, the trade would still go on briskly." Pitt estimated that of the thirteen million pounds of tea consumed every year in England, more than seven and a half millions were unlawfully imported.

In America

In America, the motive for such traffic was not less and the opportunities were more alluring. After the passing of the molasses act, the easy violations of it by New England traders made the practice so common that it excited the notice of visitors from foreign countries and the neighboring islands. According to John Adams, James Otis said, concerning the complaints of a later period, that "if the king of Great Britain in person were encamped on Boston Common at the head of twenty thousand men and with all his navy on the coast, he would not be able to execute these laws. They would be resisted or eluded." It is probable that the propor-

tion of unlawful importations to the total importation was not as large as has been generally supposed. That the proportion was not larger was not the fault of Peter Faneuil of Boston. 1745



CHAPTER XII

BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY—POLITICAL

1689
1745

Advantages and Burdens

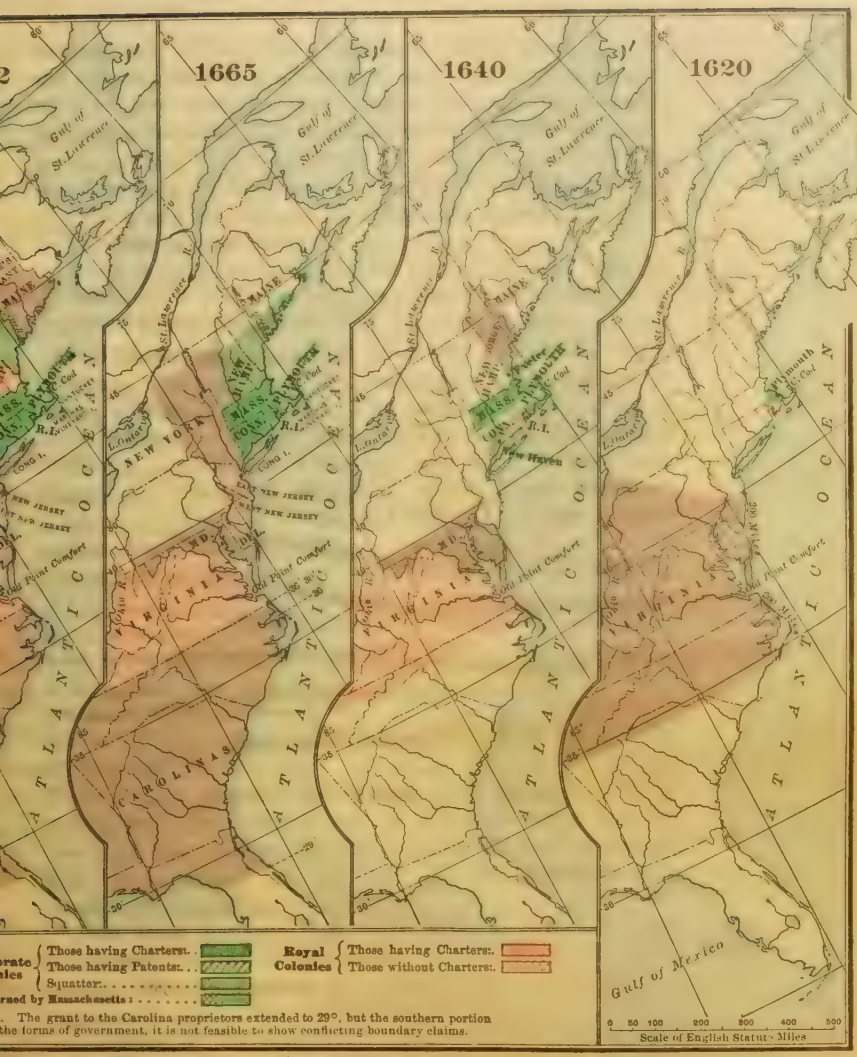
AS already intimated, any estimate of the British colonial policy of this period will depend largely on the point of view. As to the legal right of king and parliament to do most of the things they did, there can be no question. As to the expediency of the commercial restrictions, we must remember that they were designed not for the annoyance of the colonists but for the strengthening of the English mercantile system. The colonies received protection and large benefits from the investment of capital—both English. The restrictions did not indicate hostility any more than the favors indicated good will. Both were dictated by purely commercial considerations and the wrong existed more in principle than in practice. It has been said that the colonists had the advantages without the burdens of Britons and basked in the sunshine of political freedom. The coloring may be stronger than is necessary but the picture contains some elements of truth.

Political Regulation

Side by side with the commercial policy that we have been considering ran a political policy. The early colonial charters were really framed for trading companies and the growth of trading posts into an empire was not anticipated. Almost as soon as the colonial companies had established colonies, it became necessary to check their tendency toward self-control. It was found that there were serious difficulties in the liberal grants of power and domain and the three thousand miles of inter-

Forms of Government in

Prepared by Paul Leland Haworth
for system of classification used and fo



The grant to the Carolina proprietors extended to 29°, but the southern portion the forms of government, it is not feasible to show conflicting boundary claims.

English Colonies, 1620-1733

edgment is made to Prof. Herbert L. Osgood nd to other persons for helpful suggestions.

vening sea. The only practicable policy proved to be the substitution of a system of administration in which all executive control was centralized in English authority. Attempts to make this substitution began with the revocation of the Virginia charter in 1624 and continued to the American revolution. Some of the difficulties, the successes, and the failures involved have appeared; others will appear in later chapters. 1689 1745

Forms of Colonial Government

This chapter is intended to give a general idea of governmental policy relating to the British colonies in America in the period covered by this volume. In that period there was a marked tendency toward the royal province, the only form of colonial government fitted for imperial aims and ends. The internal organization of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, both the Carolinas, and Georgia was thus changed and, from 1691 to 1715, Maryland was a royal province. The movement was so general that it indicates a deep-seated determination. While the general characteristics mentioned in this chapter have an especial application to the royal provinces and cling fairly well to the proprietary provinces, they adhere less firmly to the corporate colonies. The royal governor was responsible to the royal power in England; the proprietary governor was also the representative of an externally imposed authority; the governors of Rhode Island and Connecticut were responsible directly to the freemen by whom they were elected. Under such diverse conditions, any general colonial policy must be worked out in different ways, but the trend of that policy may be recognized and recorded. The next thing to consider is the administrative machinery employed.

The Royal Governor

The royal governor was the official medium of communication between the colony and the home government. He reported to the privy council, the board of trade, and one of the secretaries of state. The relative importance of his obligations is well illustrated by the declaration of Benning Wentworth, governor of New Hampshire: "My firm attachment to his Majestys

1689 1745 Person Family & Government challenges my first attention—my next pursuit shall be the Peace & Prosperity of his Majestys good subjects of this Province." Commission and instructions were drawn up by the board of trade and approved by the king in council. Perhaps the most emphatic of these instructions were those concerning commerce. The governor was required to take a special oath to enforce the acts of trade and navigation and later to give bonds for such observance. English officials looked upon these instructions as of higher authority than the colonial charters; American colonists regarded them as pocket suggestions given to ambassadors to be used at discretion—another cause of friction in colonial administration.

Gubernatorial Powers

The governor was assisted by a council. As the councilors were usually appointed on the recommendation of the governor, reciprocal relations were generally amicable. As chief executive under the king and with the advice and consent of his council, the governor appointed judges and minor officers "during pleasure only." In the eighteenth century, the assemblies persistently encroached upon this appointing power. These usurpations extended even to the military forces of which, as captain-general, the governor was commander-in-chief. As vice-admiral, the governor issued commissions to ships' officers for the execution of martial law on board their vessels, granted letters of marque and reprisal when England was at war, and exercised certain judicial functions in admiralty cases. He was the keeper of the province seal and, as such, in theory at least, was chancellor with jurisdiction in equity cases. He was also the manager of a commercial enterprise and the official censor of the press. Even ecclesiastical affairs were not beyond his jurisdiction; he issued marriage licenses and was instructed to grant religious toleration to all except papists and to foster the growth of the church of England. In the corporate colonies, the governor had comparatively little power, but in the royal governor was centered the delegated authority of the king.

1689
1745

The revenue officials in the colonies transmitted the customs collections to the lords of the treasury in England and the commissioners of customs in England appointed many of the financial officials in the provinces. In the early part of this period, the colonial treasurer was usually appointed in England and reported to the lord high treasurer. In New England, and later in other colonies, the treasurer was responsible only to the assemblies of the people by whom he was chosen. By persistent struggles, the colonists obtained control of their own moneys, one of the most important of the victories that they won from the home government in the first half of the century. It is noticeable that the English government seldom imposed on an American colony a governor in the pay of the king. When the assembly controlled the treasury, the governor and most of the other royal officials were somewhat dependent on the good will of the representatives of the people. Fixed salaries were demanded but not granted, appropriations being made from year to year for the sake of keeping "aliens" on their good behavior.

The Treasurer

The Governor's Salary

With something like supervisory powers over the other colonial officers were the surveyors-general of the customs. Their especial duty was to enforce the navigation acts. Within their several districts, they were entitled to seats in the governors' councils and had power to inspect all public offices and to make temporary custom-house appointments. Under the "interference" of the two surveyors-general, Edward Randolph, the former zealous prosecutor of the New England colonies, and Robert Quarry, sometime acting governor of Carolina, political relations were embittered and little protection was secured for British commercial interests. In 1703, Quarry wrote: "Commonwealth notions improve daily, and if it be not checked in time, the rights and privileges of English subjects will be thought too narrow."

The Surveyor-General

The surveyor of the woods was commissioned by the privy council to "inspect and survey and give advice of the naval productions those places did produce." His

Officers ad libitum

1689 1745 prohibition against cutting certain trees made trouble as already explained. In addition to the officers herein enumerated, there were in England an auditor-general for all the colonies and in each colony a secretary, a treasurer or receiver, and an attorney-general. Nearly all of these were Englishmen, appointed by English authorities to look after English interests. Some of them were compensated by fees and confiscations and others by salaries paid by the colonists. As the administration expenses were not burdensome to England, offices were multiplied for the profit of English favorites. Thus Horatio Walpole, as auditor-general for the colonies, received five per cent of the royal revenue from America for the trouble of accepting the reports of the men who had done the work.

Charters and Exemptions

In the latter part of the period covered by this volume, this royal executive system was in operation in most of the English colonies in America. In the corporate colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut and in the proprietary colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania, only the admiralty and the commercial officials were thus controlled by the English administration. The Rhode Island and Connecticut charters survived all attacks; the voters chose the governors and the deputies enacted laws with very little consideration for the home government. In Massachusetts, the government established in 1691 was a compromise between that of the ordinary royal province and that of the corporate colony. The governor was appointed by the king and had about the same powers as other royal governors.

Colonial Agents

In the eighteenth century, the maintenance of paid colonial representatives in England was general. These agents watched court and parliament and, in general, were the means by which selected information from America was placed where it would do the most good. In many a case, the agent was an Englishman resident in London, a colonist being sent to aid him when an emergency arose. He was the legal representative and the fiscal agent of the colony and generally held its full power of attorney. As

a class, they were men of high ability and wide influence, ideal general lobbyists, the first American diplomats. 1689 1745

Royal Prerogative and Parliamentary Interference

The colonists soon found that the claim that royal prerogative was the only fountain of colonial authority and justice was incompatible with their essential rights. About the same time, a similar discovery was made at home. In spite of a thousand ocean leagues, an anti-prerogative party in England and an anti-prerogative party in America were soon working to the same end. After the restoration, parliamentary interference became more prominent and effective. After the revolution, the administration of the colonies became a branch of ministerial government. Prior to 1688, the colonies were governed principally by the king in council; after that they were controlled very largely by the king in parliament. In the words of Goldwin Smith, royal tyranny ceased but parliamentary tyranny began.

The Board of Trade

The confusion resulting from the overlapping of authority has been already mentioned. Other difficulties arose, each tending to lessen the benefits expected from the new board of trade and plantations. In spite of the individual greatness of some of its members, the board was really weak in executive authority. Men who had influence with the crown, the privy council, or the secretary of state could afford to disregard the board of trade. This feebleness of the board increased the harshness of its members who learned that, unless they succeeded in touching the pride or awakening the resentment of those who had executive power, their opinions and suggestions would have little effect.

Appeals to the King

One of the many fruitful sources of trouble between England and the colonies was that of appeals to the king. The colonial assemblies were disposed to claim final jurisdiction for themselves and, as early as 1680, this was claimed as a chartered right. Clauses commanding the strict enforcement of the right of appeal became more and more frequent in the instructions to colonial governors and one by one the assemblies yielded. As a general thing, appeals were limited to cases in which con-

1689–1745

siderable sums of money were involved; appeals to the privy council might be taken in cases involving from two hundred to five hundred pounds. Cases were often settled by the colonial assemblies for sums less than this for the sake of making an appeal impossible. For the first quarter of a century after the accession of William and Mary, the denial of the right of appeal and a chronic disregard of the navigation acts were among the main causes of a growing hostile sentiment between the British government and the American colonists.

Admiralty Courts

In England, piracy and violations of the acts of trade fell within the jurisdiction of the lords of admiralty, but no admiralty courts had been established in the colonies. In 1696, the vigilant Randolph accused the colonists of giving aid to pirates and of frequent violations of the acts of trade. When the board of trade called the colonies to account, some of the lords proprietors, and the assemblies of Connecticut and Rhode Island, claimed admiralty jurisdiction by right of charter and asserted that violations of the acts of trade were cognizable in the common law courts.

How they were Constituted

In 1697, parliament ordered that courts of admiralty be set up in all the colonies. In 1698, a vice-admiralty court for New England and New York was constituted with a king's advocate, a registrar, and a marshal. It had power to try admiralty and revenue cases without juries — as have the United States district courts of today. Similar courts were set up in other colonies, in some of which they were of little use. In general, the governor was the vice-admiral but, in the proprietary and corporate colonies, where the governor was less under royal control, special admiralty officers were appointed. Between these officers and the governors there was almost constant friction.

How they were Operated

The admiralty judge was paid by fees, the amount of which he himself had the power to determine. After he had taken his share, one-third of the residuary fines and forfeitures went to the king, another third to the governor, and the remainder to the informer. Thus there

6 George II., cap. 13

were many persons interested in making large and frequent seizures for illegal trade. As these admiralty courts were established in spite of the colonial assemblies, as the judges were appointed by the king, as the information was furnished by royal officials, and as the emoluments went to persons alien to the colonies, the courts came to be one of the chief irritants of the later colonial period. 1689–1745

The Neglected Period of American History

With an almost universal enthusiasm the colonists had looked forward to the accession of William and Mary. But William III. of England was not just like the prince of Orange and the friends of popular government were disappointed. The prince had felt the need of a strong central control of his European provinces; the king determined upon such a control of his American colonies. Consequently the accession of William III. begins a distinct era of colonial as well as of English history. Between 1688 and 1745 lie the years in which American ideas were developed and intensified and the American colonies strengthened. It was the formative period of the men and measures that made the American revolution a possibility and a necessity. And yet it has been looked upon as less interesting than the more dramatic period of colonization that went before and the more exciting period of revolution that came after. It has been so generally hurried over that it has come to be known as the neglected period of American history.

The Two Sections of the Neglected Period

This period may well be divided into sections at the year 1715. The first of these sections we shall find characterized by an active English interference in colonial affairs and the second by an equally marked governmental neglect — a salutary neglect Burke called it. In the first, the colonists were distressed and browbeaten; in the second, they stood alone in an attitude of confidence and strength. Parliament continued to legislate for the benefit of English trade but there was little interference with political conditions. As premier of England, Sir Robert Walpole echoed the fixed maxim of Whitehall, "Let colonial politics alone!"

1689
1745
Walpole's Policy

The Hanoverian kings knew little of English and less of colonial affairs. In 1721, Robert Walpole, the new head of the English ministry, brought in the new policy of increasing trade by removing obstructions from commerce. He was content when there was no trouble and left America to the duke of Newcastle who promptly left it to itself. From 1724 to 1749, Newcastle was colonial secretary and many reports lay untouched and many complaints remained unheard. As already mentioned, the neglect lay not in lack of legislation but in the failure to enforce the laws that parliament enacted. The discussions concerning admiralty courts, the right of appeals to England, and the issue of paper money afforded ample opportunities for disputation.

Robert Walpole, First Earl of Orford

Colonial Union

For a time, danger from the Indians and the French urged the idea of colonial union and, in the seventeenth century, John Locke submitted a plan for a military dictatorship and William Penn one for a peaceful congress. Then came other individual schemes, propositions from the board of trade, conventions for the consideration of mutual defense, and finally colonial congresses, all tending to familiarize Englishmen in America with the idea. The development was aided by the frequent union of two or more colonies under one governor, notably that of 1697, when Lord Bellomont was commissioned as governor of New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, and captain-general of Rhode Island and Connecticut. At the same time, the colonists were pushed deeper and

deeper into the quicksands of dissatisfaction by governmental efforts for the abrogation of their charters, such as the bill of 1701 for the reduction of the proprietary provinces which was postponed by the death of the king, and the bill of 1706 for the reduction of the chartered colonies which was forced aside by the European war. Attempts like these followed with annoying persistence, the most dangerous being those of 1715 and 1721. It was natural that proposals for concentration or for union emanating from the governmental party were regarded with popular suspicion. The idea was coldly received in the royal provinces, opposed in the proprietary provinces, and strenuously and excitedly antagonized in the corporate colonies. For nearly a hundred years plans for colonial consolidation came from England and were vigorously opposed in America. But colonial congresses developed a habit of conference and made manifest the fact that there were questions of intercolonial interest other than Indian dangers and resistance to the French. After 1754, parties changed places, the colonists turning with growing favor to the idea of union, and the English authorities passing into opposition.

1689 1745

March 18, 1702

Thomas Pelham Holles, Duke of Newcastle

Ministerial Changes

Sir Robert Walpole became the earl of Orford in 1742 and died in 1745. After a continuous service of thirty years as one of the secretaries of state, the duke of Newcastle succeeded his younger brother, Henry Pelham, as premier in 1754. George Grenville entered parliament in 1741, and Charles Townshend in 1747. With Grenville and Townshend, a new period of American history begins, the closing of the period of neglect and the inau-

1745 guration of a policy of coercion that ended in the American revolution. Lord Bellomont's assurance that a thousand men and two warships would secure the allegiance of America "so long as the world lasts" turned out to be poor prophecy.

CHAPTER XIII

THE END OF PROPRIETARY RULE IN SOUTH CAROLINA

THE English revolution of 1688 proclaimed the right of subjects to dethrone a dynasty. When Englishmen sat in judgment on their king, what more natural than that South Carolinians should depose their governor? But Seth Sothell at Charles Town soon opened the eyes of those who had received him as a deliverer and, within a year, he was hated there as enthusiastically as he had been at Albemarle. The commission of Governor Ludwell of North Carolina was changed to that of governor of Carolina and Sothell retired to private life at Albemarle where he died in 1694.

1690
1721

Seth Sothell's Sway

November 2, 1691

Colonel Philip Ludwell had been secretary to Governor Berkeley of Virginia and was now the third husband of his widow. As it was not practicable for the North Carolinians to send delegates to Charles Town, Ludwell appointed a deputy-governor for Albemarle and issued writs for the representatives to be chosen for the South Carolina counties. The new assembly was as rigid as its predecessors and prepared a paper that has been

Arms of Philip Ludwell

Ludwell's New Commission

1691 called the first bill of rights drawn in America. When
1693 they appointed a committee to frame a "system of government," the proprietors "thought it best for them and for us to govern by all the power of the charter" and to "part with no power till the people are disposed to be more orderly." The proprietors soon wrote to the governor: "Employ no Jacobite, beware of the Goose Creek men."* Unable or unwilling to enforce a single measure that ran counter to the popular will, Ludwell was removed and withdrew into Virginia. Thomas Smith was again commissioned as governor of Carolina.

Saint James Church, Goose Creek

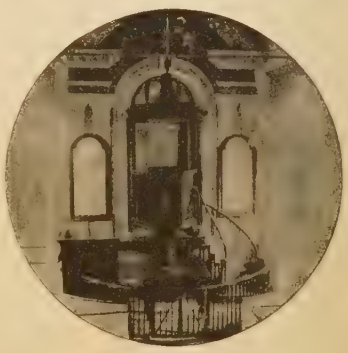
April 12, 1693

His Brief Administration

November 29

Thomas Smith Becomes Governor

Smith, a dissenter and one of the richest planters in the colony, was now made a landgrave with the usual accompanying grant of forty-eight thousand acres. There is a story to the effect that, about this time, he planted some seed-rice from Madagascar, the beginnings of the great staple of the Carolina lowlands, but the South Carolina assembly had, three years before, rewarded the inventor of an improved machine for husking rice and the records of the province show that rice was largely

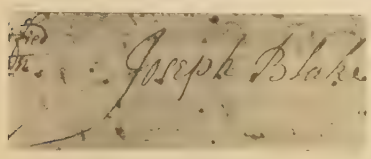


Interior of Saint James Church, Goose Creek

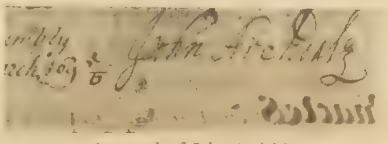
* Goose Creek is an eastward flowing affluent of the Cooper River which it joins a few miles above Charleston. In that region were the favorite residences of many men of importance in Carolina.

grown before Smith's arrival in 1684. At all events, it was not long before Carolina rice was held to be the best in the world. "Hence, the opulence of the colony; hence, also, its swarms of negro slaves." In 1694, Smith resigned his office and almost immediately died. 1694 Carolina Rice November 16

After Smith's resignation, the council chose Joseph Blake to act until a new governor should be commis- Joseph Blake

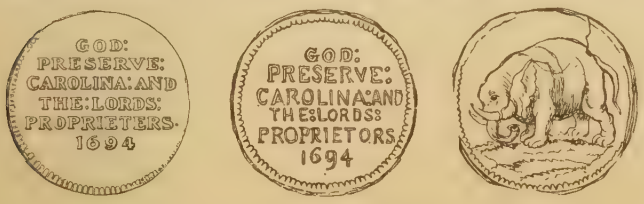


Autograph of Joseph Blake



Autograph of John Archdale

sioned. Of the eight original proprietors, seven were dead—the old earl of Craven being the only survivor. The proprietary board had not even an office, commoners had taken the seats of dukes and earls, and an eighth interest in the province was bought in the market for three hundred pounds. John Archdale, a claimant to the proprietary interest once held by Sir William Berkeley, had been in North Carolina and was now willing to



Medal of the Carolina Company

(There were two issues of the same design: the misspelling, "Proprieters," on the obverse of the first was corrected on the second issue)

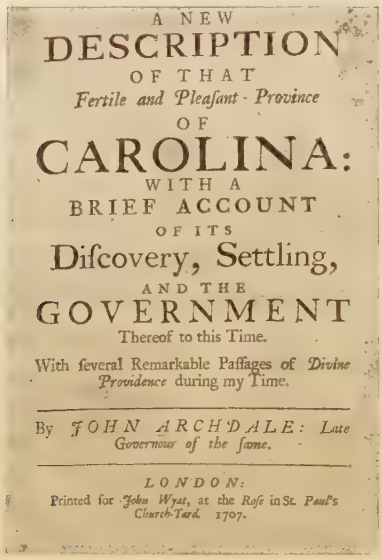
visit America again. He has been described as "a vain, amiable, quick-tempered man, of some cleverness for business." Although he was a Quaker, the forty-eight thousand acres that went to a landgrave were too much to forego because of scruples as to worldly titles. In 1695, he arrived at Charles Town as governor of both the Carolinas. August 17

1695 1698 The new government was organized with a council chosen by the proprietors (Archdale acting for them) and an assembly chosen by the people. In his *Description of Carolina*, Archdale says that he "mix'd two Moderate Churchmen to one High Churchman in the council whereby the ballance of government was preserved peaceable and quiet in my Time." The assembly was convoked as soon as possible. From its initial "fair Blossomin Season," the session slid into "six weeks under Civil Broils and Heats." The governor, therefore, dissolved the assembly and issued summons for another —at the request of the "modest and reasonable members of the Commons" and not to please "the obstinate majority." The new legislature met in January, 1696, and "business proceeded more in the spirit of compromise." After a stay of a year and a half, Archdale appointed Joseph Blake, a member of the council, as his deputy and returned to England.

Broils and Heats

November 30, 1695

Wisdom and Patience


A NEW
DESCRIPTION
OF THAT
Fertile and Pleasant Province
OF
CAROLINA:
WITH A
BRIEF ACCOUNT
OF ITS
Discovery, Settling,
AND THE
GOVERNMENT
Thereof to this Time.
With several Remarkable Passages of *Divine Providence* during my Time.
By *JOHN ARCHDALE: Late Governour of the same.*
LONDON:
Printed for *John Wyat*, at the *Rose* in St. *Paul's Church-Yard.* 1707.

Title-page of Archdale's *New Description*

In 1697, the English government established a court of admiralty for South Carolina with Joseph Morton, son of the late governor of the same name, as judge. The proprietors soon made Blake a landgrave and expressed satisfaction with his appointment. In the following year, he became a Carolina proprietor. About this time, the untiring Randolph, collector of the king's customs, took

Blake again Governor

April 25, 1697

up his winter residence at Charles Town and gave immediate and particular attention to South Carolina. Thinking it wise to do something, the proprietors commissioned Nicholas Trott as attorney-general and naval officer and Edmund Bohun as chief-justice of the province. Bohun was not a professional lawyer but he had served as justice of the peace in England. He was now allowed sixty pounds a year — "a very good salary to keep him beyond the reach of temptation of corruption," the proprietors explained. 1698 1700 The Restless Randolph

Upon this political agony were piled fire, pestilence, and storm. In 1698, smallpox raged for months and a fire burned property worth half a million dollars according to the values of today. In 1699, "a most infectious, pestilential, and mortal distemper" (probably yellow fever) carried off hundreds including Chief-justice Bohun. In the same year, "a dreadful hurricane" threatened the destruction of Charles Town and, says Hewat, many could think of nothing but abandoning a country on which the judgments of Heaven seemed to fall so heavily. But the rice crop was so great that vessels could not be found in which to export it, the first post-office and the first public library were established, and, in 1700, an act was passed "for securing the Provincial Library at Charles Town." A new century was about to dawn and prosperity to smile. Darkness Dawn

The first volume of the manuscript journals of the commons house (now in the South Carolina state department in Columbia) begins in 1692. The scant records of the period seem to indicate that the separation of the two houses was made about that time. In 1693, Governor Smith announced to the lower house that "the proprietors have consented that the proposing power for the making of laws, which was heretofore lodged in the governor and council only, is now given to you as well as the present council." After that, the South Carolina assembly claimed all the privileges of the English house of commons. We soon find Nicholas Trott persuading his associates in the commons to call the council "the The Carolina Parliament

1700 proprietors' deputies," on the ground that, as they differed
1703 in the most essential circumstances from the house of lords in England, they should not be called an upper house. The distinction was still the subject of bitter controversy when the American revolution put an end to the discussion.

A Goose Creek Governor

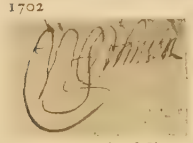
When, toward the end of the last year of the century, Governor Blake died, the council chose James Moore to succeed him. Robert Daniell and James Moore had been excluded from the general pardon granted in 1692 to Sothell's adherents. Subsequently, Daniell bore the revised constitutions of 1698 to Carolina and became a landgrave. Now the other unpardoned offender became governor without objection from the proprietors. For personal reasons, Moore dissolved one assembly and prorogued its successor so that no legislation was transacted until the summer of 1702. Then the new constitutions were refused a second reading, practically the end of Locke's famous code.

September 1, 1702

On to Saint Augustine

The war of the Spanish succession was raging in Europe and Governor Moore planned an attack on Saint Augustine. From Port Royal and with ten ships the governor went by sea while Colonel Daniell and a detachment went by land. The invaders pillaged the town and, at the appearance of two ships that looked like hostile men-of-war, burned their own fleet and hastened home by land. The expedition inflicted on the colony a debt of six thousand pounds and Spanish retaliation. The debt became the occasion of the first tax on the importation of negro slaves and the progenitor of bills of credit.

September, 1702



Autograph of Sir Nathaniel Johnson

Sir Nathaniel Johnson

At the accession of Queen Anne, the proprietors appointed Sir Nathaniel Johnson governor of the Carolinas. They also commissioned Nicholas Trott as chief-justice and James Moore, the late governor, as attorney-general. Governor Johnson arrived at Charles Town some time in 1703 and at once devoted himself to the fortification of the city and the defense of the province. Three years later, a hostile French fleet made its appear-

ance and landed troops at several points. Although the yellow fever was raging in the city, the South Carolinians met the enemy and brought back two hundred and thirty French and Spanish prisoners, the ending of the first attempt to take Charles Town by a naval force, a feat that has never been accomplished. 1704 1708

A High-Church Faction

Although at least a large minority of the South Carolina colonists were dissenters, Lord Granville, the palatine, determined that political power in his province should be limited to adherents of the Anglican communion. In this attempt he had the zealous coöperation of the governor, the chief-justice, Colonel William Rhett, and the not altogether immaculate Colonel James Moore. A bill requiring all members of the commons house of the assembly to "conform to the religious worship in this province according to the Church of England" was pushed through the commons by a vote of twelve to eleven, seven members being absent. The governor and council gave their assent and the matter was brought to the notice of the proprietors, where Archdale made vain opposition. The revival of English toryism that followed the accession of Queen Anne was reflected in the political situation in South Carolina. The dissenters then appealed their case and royal authority declared the intolerant acts null and void. The colonial assembly repealed the disfranchising legislation but the church of England was immediately established, a "compromise that continued as long as the power of the crown."

May 6, 1704

Church and State

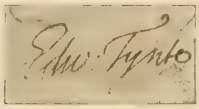
November 30, 1706

The Dissenters Hit Back

The "country" party soon regained control of the assembly and, when the governor dissolved that body, the people elected another more antagonistic to him than the former. Lord Granville died about the end of 1707, the board of proprietors was reorganized, and William Lord Craven became the sixth palatine — dissenters were in the ascendancy. The bishop of London claimed jurisdiction in the colonies and had sent James Blair as commissary to Virginia and Thomas Bray as commissary to Maryland. In 1708, he sent the Reverend Gideon John-

1709 1712 An Ecclesiastical Commissary

son as commissary to South Carolina. One of this Mr. Johnson's first acts was to write a letter that would have been pronounced a libel "upon the people here" by either the church or the country party. In April, 1709, the proprietors announced that they had chosen Colonel Edward Tynte as their governor and had made new appointments for chief-justice, attorney-general, secretary, naval officer, etc.



Autograph of Edward Tynte

Governor Tynte

The South Carolina assembly met in April, 1710, and passed "An act for the Founding and Erecting a Free school for the use of the Inhabitants of South Carolina." This school was to be "erected for the instruction of the youth of this Province in grammar and other arts and sciences and useful learning, and also in the principles of the christian religion." Before the end of the summer, Governor Tynte died. The profits of rice cultivation had led to regular importations of negro slaves, so that, at this time, the blacks were to the whites as twenty-two to twelve.

Acting Governor Gibbes

Following Tynte's death there was a controversy concerning the temporary government. Opposing factions took up arms and blows and wounds followed. After much negotiation, a compromise was agreed upon, the government to be administered by Robert Gibbes until the decision of the proprietors could be ascertained. The story of the strife was received at London in January and, in the following month, a governor's commission was signed for Colonel Charles Craven, "moderate, just, pious, valiant," and a brother of the palatine. In this same year, Lord Craven died and the duke of Beaufort became the seventh palatine of Carolina.

Autograph and Seal of Robert Gibbes

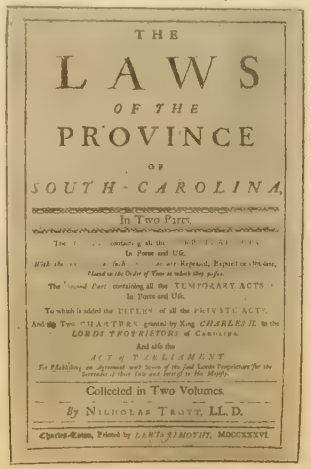
February 21, 1710-1711

An Able Administration

Governor Craven took up his duties in the early part of 1712. The assembly met on the second of April and listened to an address warm with the spirit of toleration. For a time, factions seem to have been blended and

PART
OF
NORTH
CAROLINA
AMERICA
THE
WESTERN
OCEAN
SOUTH CAROLINA
Cape Henry
Table of Pines
Currituc
Roanoak
Chickenecomic
Cape Hatteras
Hatteras Inlet
Ocacock
Drum Inlet
Cape Lookout
Beaufort Inlet
the Sound
Pasquotank R.
Chowan R.
Neuse R.
Roanoak R.
Albemarle Sound
Pamptico Sound
Clarendon County
Craven County
Berkley County
Colleton County
Cape Carteret
Cape Fear
Charles Town
Ashley R.
Cooper R.
Stono R.
Edisto R.
Port Royal
Savanna
Indian Settl.
Iron Mines
Stony land
Rich Land
no good Land here
Marble Rock
Wacon
Charles
Hatteras
Roanoak
Hatteras
Neuse
Bath
Bath Town
Pamptico
Core
Tuskeroras
Meherrin R.
Nottoway R.
Blackwater R.
Chowan
Perquimans
Pasquotank
Currituck
Albemarle
Pamptico
Core
Neuse
Bath
Roanoak
Hatteras
Ocacock
Drum Inlet
Beaufort Inlet
Cape Lookout
Cape Fear
Cape Carteret

animosities buried. The office of provincial agent in London was created and the triple work of the late chief-justice was adopted. This great work of Nicholas Trott consisted of the revision of recent legislation, the codification and adoption of so much of the statutory law of England as was suitable to the condition of South Carolina, and a compilation of the previous laws of the colony. 1712 1714


THE
LAWS
OF THE
PROVINCE
OF
SOUTH-CAROLINA,
In Two Parts.
Collected in Two Volumes.
By NICHOLAS TROTT, LL.D.
MDCCXXXVI

Nicholas Trott Supreme

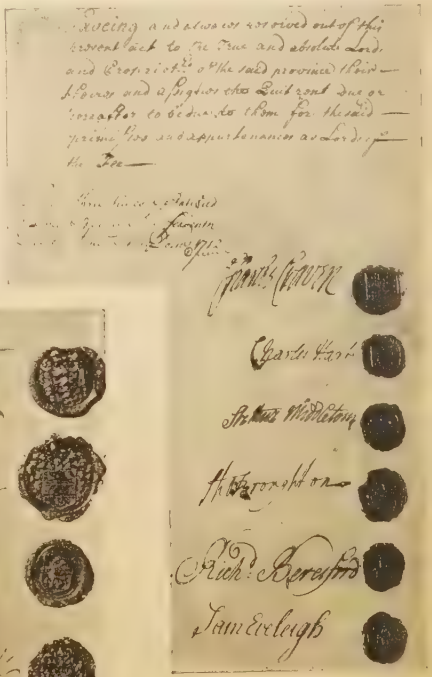
Title-page of Trott's Printed Laws of South Carolina

In July, 1714, the duke of Beaufort died and John Lord Carteret became the last palatine of Carolina. Carteret, the grandson of the original proprietor of that

George R

name, was then but twenty-four years old and at the beginning of the career that left him lasting fame as the earl of Granville. In August, Queen Anne died and, in September, the proprietors sent out orders for the proclamation of George I. and made Nicholas Trott a member of the Carolina council, without whose presence there should be no quorum and without whose consent no law could be passed. The assembly sent Joseph Boone back to England with Richard Beresford to protest

1714 against Trott's extraordinary powers and to secure
1715 relief in other matters. The official instructions closed with these significant words: "In case the proprietors do not redress our grievances after all necessary measures have been taken with them, we direct you to apply yourself to a superior power in order that the same may be redressed." The proprietors yielded and revoked Trott's veto power.



Last Page of Act to Settle and Regulate the Indian Trade, June 17, 1712

February 24, 1716

Indian Hostilities

Autographs and Seals of Robert Daniell and his Council

In the spring of 1715, the most disastrous Indian war that South Carolina ever had to encounter broke suddenly upon her people. The Yamasees formed a combination with the Creeks, and weaker Indian tribes came to join them on the war

MOLL'S MAP OF CAROLINA, 1715

(Slightly adapted from the original in the New York Public Library, Lenox Building)

MOLL'S MAP OF CAROLINA, 1715

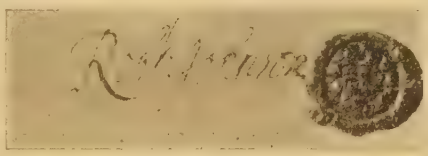
(Slightly adapted from the original in the New York Public Library, Lenox Building)

path; they expected, if indeed they did not receive, direct aid from Saint Augustine. The confederates could muster, possibly, eight or ten thousand warriors while in Carolina there were not many more than twelve hundred men fit to bear arms. An appeal for aid was sent to the other colonies and to England. North Carolina promptly recognized the draft and Virginia lent a hand but far less graciously. The governor took the field in person, drove the enemy beyond the Savannah, destroyed the hostile combination, and conquered a permanent peace. The war cost South Carolina about four hundred of her people. 1715 1717

What's in a Name?

Governor Craven, who would not abandon the province while it was in danger, now felt at liberty to go back to England. He sailed in April, 1716, leaving the province in the care of his deputy, Colonel Robert Daniell. In the meantime, Craven's appeal to Lord Townshend was referred to the board of trade. When the Carolina proprietors reported that they were unable to afford the assistance needed, the board suggested a surrender of the charter. At the same time, the Carolina assembly was urging the king to take the province under his immediate government. Bounties were offered for the importation of white servants excluding "what is commonly called native Irish or persons of known scandalous characters or Roman Catholics." When Governor Daniell reported that he had bought thirty Scotch rebels at thirty pounds per head and asked that he might buy more, the assembly approved the purchase but deferred further investment "till we see how these will behave themselves."

Governor Daniell

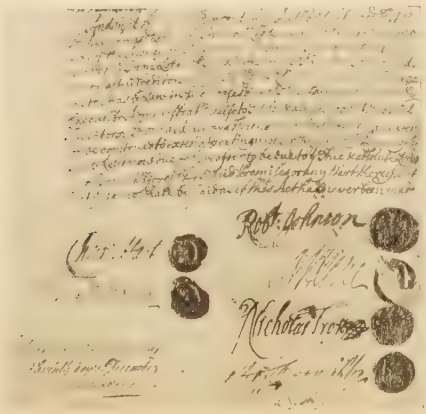


Autograph and Seal of Robert Johnson

In April, 1717, the proprietors issued a governor's commission to Robert Johnson, son of Sir Nathaniel, and prescribed his council which, of course, included Nicholas

Another Governor Johnson

1717 Trott. When the governor met the South Carolina
October 29 assembly, he made a reference to "the Lords Proprietors who are our masters." This offended the assembly which replied: "We cannot but approve of your Honor's care of these Lordships' interests who are, as you say, *your* masters." In December, the house elected Miles Brewton to be powder receiver and Johnson announced that "the keys of the magazine shall be kept only by" Major William Blakeway whom he, as military chief, had commissioned. Then the assembly posted an order giving notice to all commanders of ships to pay the powder due unto Colonel Brewton "and to no person else inhabiting in the same whatsoever, as they shall answer the contrary by being prosecuted as the law directs. Signed by order of the House, George Logan, Speaker."



Signatures to a South Carolina Act of December 11, 1717

Speaker Logan

The Carolina Pirates

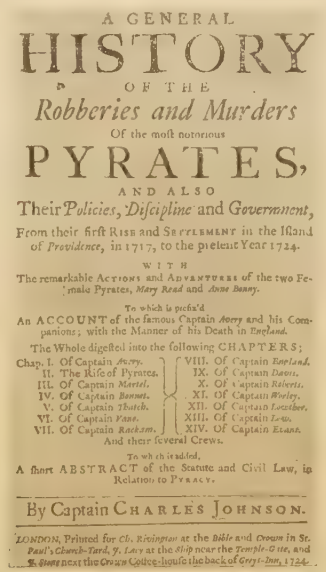
Lately driven from their rendezvous in the Bahamas, pirates had found new hiding-places among the convenient sounds and inlets of the Carolina coast. The most famous of these bucaneers was one Teach, or Thatch, who robbed and killed under the more romantic name of Blackbeard. "Blackbeard's" flag-ship carried forty guns and led a squadron of six vessels. By this time, the pirates did not hesitate to seize their prey within full view of Charles Town and to extort a ransom for the release of their prisoners. It was evident that the rapidly increasing shipping of the province would be destroyed unless immediate action was taken for its protection. In 1717,
July 3 a party of pirates was taken, convicted, and executed. In

1718, Governor Johnson sent out Colonel William Rhett with two sloops. After a search of several days, Rhett found the "Royal James" at the mouth of the Cape Fear River. When, at the end of a sharp five hours' fight, Rhett boarded the pirate sloop, he was surprised to find that her commander was the notorious Stede Bonnet, a former associate of "Blackbeard," and one whose name was known along the coast from Jamaica to Newfoundland. Rhett returned to Charles Town with thirty prisoners most of whom were hanged.

1718

September 27

William Rhett



A GENERAL
HISTORY
OF THE
Robberies and Murders
Of the most notorious
PYRATES,
AND ALSO
Their *Policies*, *Discipline* and *Government*,
From their firſt Riſe and Settlement in the Iſland of *Providence*, in 1717, to the preſent Year 1724.
WITH
The remarkable Actions and Adventures of the two Female Pyrates, *Mary Read* and *Anne Bonny*.
To which is prefix'd
An ACCOUNT of the famous Captain *Avery* and his Companions; with the Manner of his Death in *England*.
The Whole digeſted into the following CHAPTERS;
Chap. I. Of Captain *Avery*.
II. The Riſe of Pyrates.
III. Of Captain *Martel*.
IV. Of Captain *Bonnet*.
V. Of Captain *Thatch*.
VI. Of Captain *Vane*.
VII. Of Captain *Rackam*.
VIII. Of Captain *England*.
IX. Of Captain *Davis*.
X. Of Captain *Roberts*.
XI. Of Captain *Worley*.
XII. Of Captain *Lowther*.
XIII. Of Captain *Lewis*.
XIV. Of Captain *Evans*.
And their ſeveral Crews.
To which is added,
A ſhort ABSTRACT of the Statute and Civil Law, in Relation to PYRACY.
By Captain CHARLES JOHNSON.
LONDON, Printed for *Cha. Rivington* at the *Bible* and *Crown* in St. *Paul's Church-Yard*, *J. Lacy* at the *Ship* near the *Temple-Gate*, and *B. Sprint* next the *Crown* Coffee-houſe the back of *Grey's-Inn*, 1724.

Title-page of Johnson's *General History of the . . . Pyrates*

Blackbeard and Bonnet

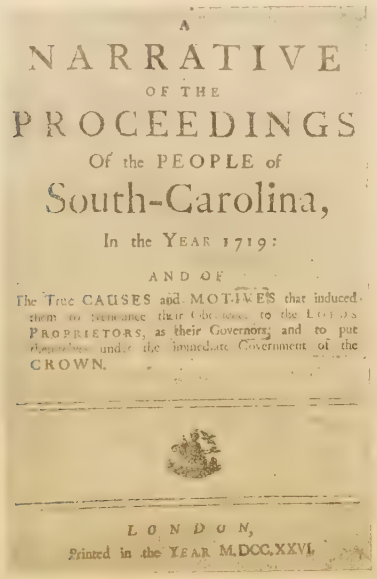
While Bonnet and his men were awaiting trial, Richard Worley, another famous pirate, appeared off Charles Town harbor. Ships were impressed into the public service and a proclamation calling for volunteers was issued. Late on the evening of the fourth of November, the governor's fleet sailed down the harbor and, on the following day, almost within sight of the town, there was a fierce struggle. Of course no quarter was asked and but little given. Of the pirates who were captured, twenty-three were convicted and

A Fighting Governor

1719 executed. In the meantime, "Blackbeard" had taken advantage of a royal proclamation that offered pardon to pirates who would surrender. But he soon fell into bad ways again as will be related more in detail in the next chapter. By the end of the year, the Carolina coast was freed from the presence of the bucaneers.

Proprietary Interference

In March, 1719, the governor received an order to dissolve the assembly that had been elected at polls in the parishes instead of in Charles Town and to order a new election to be held according to the ancient custom. The only person who was not surprised by the order was Chief-justice Trott. The governor and council saw the danger and took the responsibility of allowing a continuance of the session of the assembly. In this emergency, Francis Yonge was sent to England to confer with the proprietors; he returned with sealed orders for the rigid enforcement of a policy that the colonists believed would lead to their ruin. In obedience, Governor Johnson dissolved the assembly and called a new one to be chosen at Charles Town according to the custom that prevailed before the act of 1716. The proprietary party was sadly disappointed in the result of the election and, in his *Narrative*, Mr. Yonge recorded the fact that "they could not get so much as a man chosen that they desired."


A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS
Of the PEOPLE of
South-Carolina,
In the YEAR 1719:
AND OF
The True CAUSES and MOTIVES that induced them to renounce their Obedience to the Lords PROPRIETORS, as their Governors; and to put themselves under the immediate Government of the CROWN.
LONDON,
Printed in the YEAR M.DCC.XXVI.

Title-page of Francis Yonge's *Narrative*

Vox Populi

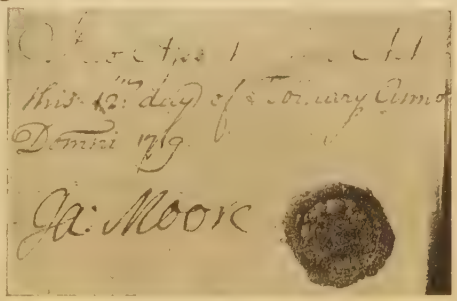
England was again at war and Charles Town was

threatened with attack. The fortifications needed repair, the provincial treasury was empty, and Governor Johnson proposed a voluntary subscription. When the assemblymen told him that the duties provided by law were adequate, the governor said that the act laying these duties had been repealed by the proprietors. The elected members replied that "they did not and would not look on *their* repeal as anything," and went to their homes, choosing to take their chances with the Spaniards rather than to admit that the proprietors had a right to repeal their laws. Then the governor ordered a muster of the provincial troops and leading citizens formed a secret association. At the muster, the people almost unanimously pledged themselves to support whatever measures the association should adopt. A letter informed the governor of the general agreement "to stand by their rights and privileges and to get rid of the oppression and arbitrary dealings of the lords proprietors." Meantime, Mr. Boone, the zealous agent of the Carolina house of commons, was in England and the members of the board of trade were growing more determined to get rid of the charter.

1718 1719 Treason

July 18, 1718

November 28, 1719



Autograph and Seal of James Moore

Revolution

The newly elected delegates convened in December and, fearing that the governor would dissolve their assembly, resolved themselves into a popular convention. They then adopted resolutions so revolutionary that the governor bade them go home. The proclamation was torn from the marshal's hands and Colonel James Moore, son of a former governor, was chosen as Johnson's successor. The militia escorted the members of the convention to the fort where, in the name of King

December 21

1719–1721 George, James Moore was proclaimed governor. Then and there the lords proprietors lost a province. Prominent among the leaders of the revolt was Arthur Middleton, speaker of the assembly.

A Provisional Government

A council of twelve was chosen, Richard Allein was made chief-justice in the place of Nicholas Trott, and Colonel John Barnwell was sent to England to ask that South Carolina be taken under royal protection and government. The convention then resolved itself into an assembly and resumed its legislative functions. Of course, all this action was without authority of law; its only justification lay in the neglect and helplessness of the proprietors, the subsequent approval of the king, and the acceptance of the results by the people. Governor Eden and his council at Albemarle refused to hold any communication with Governor Moore at Charles Town, thus making very real the division of the Carolina province.

The Division of Carolina

A Royal Governor for South Carolina

In spite of the excitement in England caused by the South Sea bubble, of which more in a later chapter, the South Carolina agents successfully urged upon the board of trade the necessity of action. General Francis Nicholson, formerly of New York and Virginia, was commissioned as the provisional royal governor of South Carolina. The South Carolina revolution of 1719 was closely parallel to the Maryland revolution of 1690 and the commission given to Nicholson in 1720 followed the copy of the one issued to Sir Lionel Copley nearly thirty years before. Nicholson arrived at Charles Town in May, 1721, and, with his glad reception, the revolution was completed. The charter was not surrendered until 1729, but the royal government began at once. There is little doubt that the agitation that thus ended had been begun by Edward Randolph, collector of the king's customs, and that it was encouraged by the board of trade and plantations. Little more than half a century later, the principles thus approved by the English ministry were successfully asserted against its authority.

September 26, 1720

Carolinian Characteristics

From Virginia to Massachusetts there was a chain of English colonies with something like a common senti-

ment. Between Jamestown and Charles Town there were no roads and the ocean route was made dangerous for coasting craft by the projection of Cape Hatteras. The Spaniards in Florida were much nearer than any powerful English allies and Carolina was an assertion of British dominion in disputed territory. This practical isolation developed a spirit of self-reliance and strongly influenced the political and social organization of the province. The system of government and the customs and manners transferred from Barbados, the influence of the fundamental constitutions, and the peculiar hold upon the people that the profitable production of rice gave to negro slavery united in a tendency to create an aristocratic social order. 1721

State Sovereignty

For more than a hundred years, the general assembly met at Charles Town and constituted the common government for province and town, and largely for the church. In that period, no court of general jurisdiction was held outside the town and every magistrate of the province was appointed at that center. From 1665 to 1865 there was no such thing as a county or township government of any kind in South Carolina. Everything tended to intensify the conception of the entity and sovereignty of the state. Moreover, the attempt of the proprietors to impose the fundamental constitutions upon the colony had forced upon the people the great political lesson of government by a written constitution. "It was this principle — the essential difference between the constitution of tradition and precedent of England and the *lex scripta* of America — that was forced upon their attention. . . . Thus it came to pass that the first political question asked and debated in Carolina was: 'What is written in the law? how readest thou?' and that question has continued to be asked and repeated in all the history of the province and the State."

Strict Construc-tionists

CHAPTER XIV

THE END OF PROPRIETARY RULE IN NORTH CAROLINA

1690
1731

The Government of Albemarle

AFTER the banishment of Sothell in 1688 and the transfer of Governor Ludwell from Albemarle to Charles Town, the proprietors allowed the people of the northern colony to manage local affairs pretty much in their own way. In 1704, Henderson Walker, president of the council and, ex-officio, acting governor, died. The stone that marks his grave records that during his administration North Carolina enjoyed tranquillity — sepulchral testimony that Mr. Bancroft calls "the history of four years in which the people, without molestation, were happy in their independence." Then Sir Nathaniel Johnson, the high-church governor of South Carolina, appointed Robert Daniell, who had commanded the land forces in the expedition against Saint Augustine, as his deputy for the government of North Carolina.

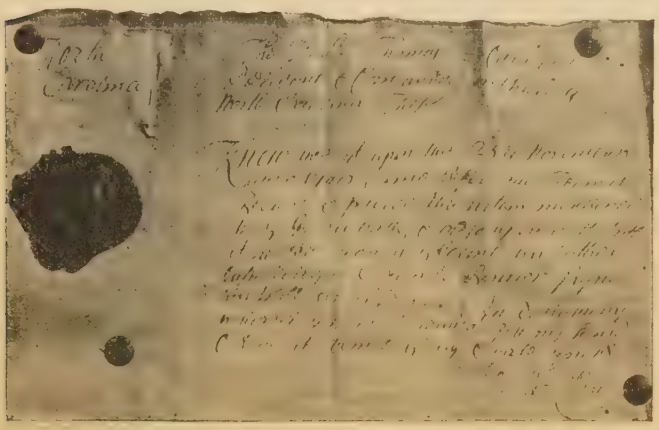
Coalition and Confusion

Some historians affirm that Daniell sought to establish the English church in "the sanctuary of runaways" and even to disfranchise some of the inhabitants because of their opinions. Others insist that all the trouble arose from the refusal of the Quakers to take oaths, even the oath of allegiance to Queen Anne. At all events, the Quakers made complaint and, with Archdale's help, induced the proprietors to order Daniell's removal. When Thomas Cary proved to be no more acceptable and

1706

was removed, the appointment of a North Carolina deputy by the South Carolina executive was suspended. A new

proprietary council, including John Porter and several other Quakers, convened in 1707 and chose William Glover, an English churchman, as president and, ex-officio, acting governor. Porter declared Glover's election illegal, formed a coalition with the lately deposed Cary, and secured the election of the latter to the presidency. Glover and Cary had their respective councils and, for a time, North Carolina had a double-headed government. The other deposed deputy, Daniell, was a landgrave and, by virtue of his rank, entitled to a seat in the council of either governor. He sat one day with one, the next day 1707 1710



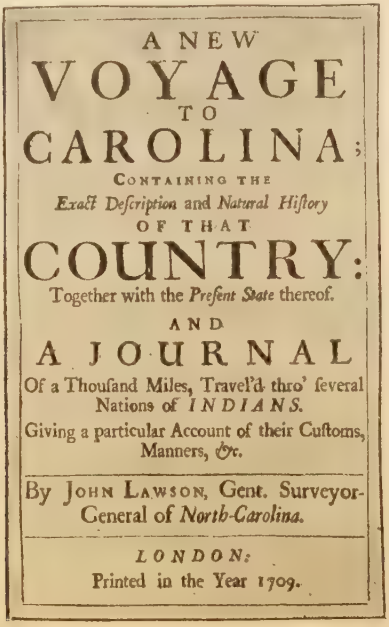
Document Signed by Thomas Cary

with the other and, no doubt, enjoyed the altercations of both. Cary's party obtained control of the assembly and Glover was forced to take refuge in Virginia.

In the summer of 1710, Edward Hyde arrived from England and claimed executive authority. His commission as deputy-governor for North Carolina was to be made out by the governor of South Carolina, but Governor Tynte had died before Hyde's arrival. When Hyde's life was put in danger by Cary's armed supporters, Spotswood, the royal governor of Virginia, sent him aid. Cary's Quaker adherents would not fight and the blood- Governor Hyde

1711 less rebellion suddenly collapsed. Cary was arrested and sent to England. In December, 1710, the proprietors had proposed to appoint a separate governor for the Albemarle settlements and, about a year later, Hyde was commissioned by the proprietors and sworn in as the first governor of North Carolina.

January, 1711-12


A NEW
VOYAGE
TO
CAROLINA;
CONTAINING THE
Exact Deſcription and *Natural Hiſtory*
OF THAT
COUNTRY:
Together with the *Preſent State* thereof.
AND
A JOURNAL
Of a Thouſand Miles, Travel'd thro' ſeveral Nations of *INDIANS*.
Giving a particular Account of their Cuſtoms, Manners, &c.
By JOHN LAWSON, Gent. Surveyor-General of *North-Carolina*.
LONDON:
Printed in the Year 1709.

Title-page of John Lawson's *New Voyage*

There is an unfortunate hiatus in the Carolina records of this period. The two colonies were practically distinct, but they were governed by a single corporation and the documents relating to each are sadly mixed with those relating to the other. In spite of this, the records leave no doubt that the people were drifting or marching in the same direction as the South Carolinians. There were the chronic quarrels of Anglicans and Quakers and, in 1717, "the people acknowledged no power not derived from themselves."

Missing Records

Upon this slow combustion were heaped the fiercer fires of Indian conspiracy and massacre. The Tuscaroras could muster twelve hundred warriors; the population of North Carolina, of every age, sex, color, and condition was about seven thousand. At daybreak of the twenty-second of September, 1711, the Tuscaroras made a sudden onslaught on the settlements along the Roanoke and Pamlico, while the warriors of the allied tribes made murderous attacks in other quarters. Governor Hyde

The Tuscarora Conspiracy

North Carolina Precincts, 1663–1729

(From Hawks's *History of North Carolina*)

was powerless. Part of the population were in active opposition and some of those who acknowledged his authority were Quakers. Yet he mustered what troops he could and sent north and south his cry for help. For three days, the Indians burned and killed—along the Roanoke, a hundred and thirty; at Newbern, sixty; at Bath, an unknown number. The Virginia governor checked the Indian combination on his side and through the forest Colonel John Barnwell led a force of South

1711 1711 1712

Map of North Carolina, Illustrating the Indian Wars

Carolinians with Yamasee and other Indian allies. Twenty or thirty miles from Newbern, Barnwell defeated the Tuscaroras with great slaughter. January 28, 1712

After Barnwell's return to Charles Town, the North Carolina Indians renewed hostilities. The yellow fever placed its fearful burden on the feeble colony and numbered Governor Hyde among its victims. Colonel Thomas Pollock was then chosen president of the council and commander-in-chief. He has left us a mournful picture of a bankrupt government, an impov- Massacre, Pestilence, and Poverty September 8 September 12

1712 erished people, abandoned plantations, ruined trade, Indian
1713 war, and hunger. South Carolina again made quick response and, in December, sent Colonel James Moore, son of the late governor of the same name, with troops. Barnwell had not yet recovered from the wounds received in the former expedition.

The Tuscaroras Broken

March 23, 1713

Under Moore's lead, the Carolinians and their Indian allies defeated the Tuscaroras and pursued them to their last stronghold on the Neuse (Greene County). The fort was captured and upwards of eight hundred were killed or taken prisoners. Most of the prisoners were carried into South Carolina slavery. Broken and disheartened, the Tuscarora remnant entered into a treaty of peace. A few years later, most of them moved northward to join the kindred Iroquois. About 1722, they were formally received into the great confederacy; the Five Nations thus became six. The few who did not emigrate made absolute submission to the victors.

Divide and Destroy

The Indian allies led in these campaigns by Barnwell and Moore were largely Yamasees who, two years later, combined with the Creeks against the whites and bore dismay through South Carolina from the frontier to the coast. If they had not attacked the Tuscaroras in 1713 and had made an alliance with them in 1715, the story of the Yamasee assault on South Carolina would have been far different from that given in the preceding chapter. The colonial history of North America shows no more remarkable instance of how events conspired to dispossess the Indians of their country. As it was, the North Carolina settlements were on the verge of ruin. A few days after the defeat of the Tuscaroras, "all the public provisions in the government" were but thirty-two barrels of meat and eight hundred bushels of corn. The colonists appealed to the lords proprietors who generously requested General Nicholson "to enquire into the disorders of North Carolina."

Governor Eden

In July, 1713, Charles Eden was commissioned as governor. Although an excellent officer, he was opposed by the members of the Cary faction who seem to have

PLAN OF EDEN, 1736

(From the original in the John Carter Brown Library)

dropped into chronic opposition. Edenton was founded in 1714 and became the seat of government. The death of the queen gave England a king "who could not read a line of Pope and who loved nothing but punch and fat women." The change of monarchs was not very keenly felt in North Carolina. 1715 1718

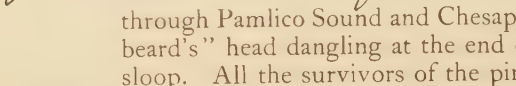
Autograph of Charles Eden

During Eden's administration, the South Carolina government punished the pirates and the far-famed "Blackbeard" took advantage of a royal proclamation as related in the preceding chapter. The buccaneer spent some time on shore, "living a riotous life upon his ill-gotten gains and finding among his neighbors on Pamlico River a young woman who consented to become his thirteenth wife," and then resumed his nefarious mode of life. In 1718, Governor Spotswood of Virginia offered a reward for his head and sent Lieutenant Maynard of the royal navy with two armed sloops to attack him. Maynard's vessel ran aground, was swept by a broadside from the piratical

Death of Blackbeard

From Johnson's *General History of the . . . Pyrates*

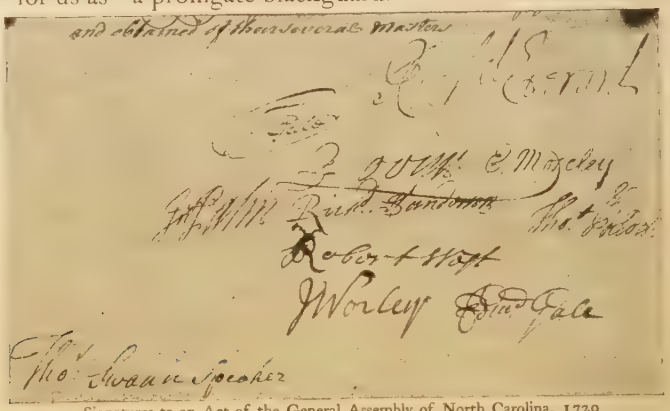
1718–25 craft, and was boarded by "Blackbeard" and his followers. Then ensued a desperate hand-to-hand fight in which the pirate captain was killed; all of the boarding party were killed or wounded. Maynard seized the pirate vessel, made prisoners of all on board, and returned through Pamlico Sound and Chesapeake Bay with "Blackbeard's" head dangling at the end of the bowsprit of his sloop. All the survivors of the pirate crew were hanged.



Autograph of George Burrington

Gubernatorial Blackguards and Noodles

After Governor Eden's death in 1722, came a series of almost worthless governors. Thus George Burrington, who became governor in January, 1724, is pictured for us as "a profligate blackguard." Sir Richard Everard

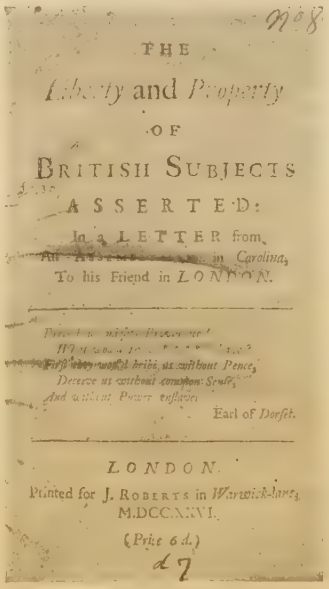


Signatures to an Act of the General Assembly of North Carolina, 1729

April 7, 1725 was appointed governor and presented his commission on the seventeenth of July, 1725. Burrington's retirement made him very angry and he was indicted by the grand jury for an assault upon his successor. He described Everard as "a noodle and an ape, . . . no more fit to be governor than Sancho Panza" and, according to the indictment, hurled his defiance in the words: "I (the said George himself meaning) will scalp your damned thick skull (the said Sir Richard's head meaning)," words

that were claimed to be "scandalous, opprobrious and malicious." Everard was the last of the proprietary line; royal government stood at the door. 1725 1729

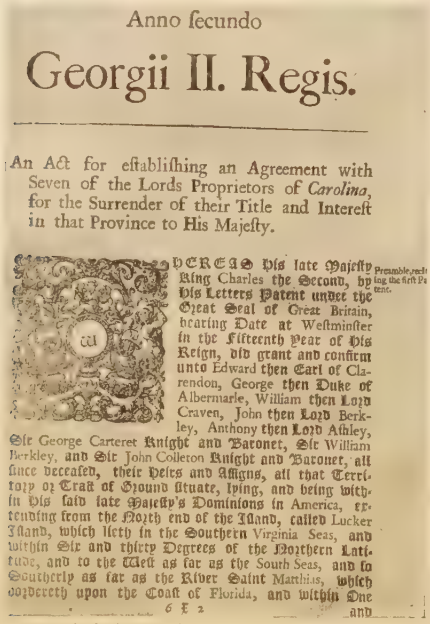
The general lack of prosperity had clung to North Carolina. In 1690, French Protestants had come and, in 1707, others had followed to enlarge the settlements at Pamlico and on the Neuse and the Trent. In 1710, Swiss emigrants began the settlement at Newbern and German fugitives from the devastated palatinate found homes in the same vicinity. In spite of such accessions, more than sixty years after its first settlement, there were not many more than five thousand whites in the province. Slaves were very few in number. From 1714 to 1725, the restrictions on the settlement of lands outside of Albemarle County amounted practically to prohibition. Homes were widely separated, rivers were almost the only highways for commerce and travel, there were scarcely any towns, and social intercourse was rare. One of the commissioners appointed in 1710 to determine the Virginia and North Carolina line was Colonel William Byrd of Westover. He left several volumes of manuscripts, in some of which were caustic comments on the character of the North Carolinians and their "felicity of having nothing to do." The Growth of Sixty Years


THE
Liberty and Property
OF
BRITISH SUBJECTS
ASSERTED:
In a LETTER from
To his Friend in LONDON.
Earl of Dorset.
LONDON.
Printed for J. ROBERTS in Warwick-lane,
M.DCC.XXVI.
(Price 6 d.)

Title-page of *The Liberty and Property of British Subjects Asserted*
(A tract which strives to justify the opposition of the people of Carolina against the proprietary government)

In 1729, most of the proprietors surrendered to the crown their rights and interests in Carolina. Seven of the Surrender of the Charter

1729 1731 eight shares were thus sold, Lord Carteret still holding his. About 1743, Carteret (earl of Granville) was allotted his eighth part of the land, all other rights being conveyed to the crown. In 1744, he received a strip of land sixty-six miles wide and extending along the Virginia line from sea to sea. He and his heirs held the title until the American revolution and subsequently contended for it in the courts until 1817. Thus, in 1729, both Carolina provinces passed by purchase under the direct control of the king. Governor Everard continued for almost two years more to hold the office that he had received from the proprietors, in which period the legislature met only once. In 1731, George Burrington came back as the first royal governor of North Carolina.



Anno ſecundo

Georgii II. Regis.

An Act for eſtabliſhing an Agreement with Seven of the Lords Proprietors of *Carolina*, for the Surrender of their Title and Intereſt in that Province to His Majeſty.

WHEREAS His late Majeſty King Charles the Second, by his Letters Patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain, bearing Date at Weſtminſter in the Fifteenth Year of his Reign, did grant and confirm unto Edward then Earl of Clarendon, George then Duke of Albemarle, William then Lord Craven, John then Lord Berkley, Anthony then Lord Aſhley, Sir George Carteret Knight and Baronet, Sir William Berkley, and Sir John Colleton Knight and Baronet, all ſince deceaſed, their Heirs and Aſſigns, all that Territory or Tract of Ground ſituate, lying, and being within his ſaid late Majeſty's Dominions in America, extending from the North end of the Iſland, called Lucker Iſland, which lieth in the Southern Virginia Seas, and within Six and thirty Degrees of the Northern Latitude, and to the Weſt as far as the South Seas, and ſo Southerly as far as the River Saint Matthias, which boundeth upon the Coaſt of Florida, and within One

Preamble, reciting the firſt Patent.

6 E 2 and

Act by which the Proprietors of Carolina Surrendered their Rights in that Province to the Crown

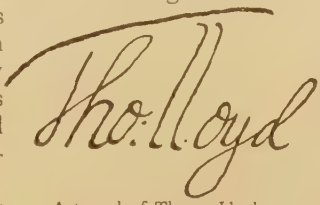
CHAPTER XV

PROPRIETARY RULE IN PENNSYLVANIA, DELAWARE, AND NEW JERSEY

1688–1718

TRANSFERRED in 1688 from the Puritan atmosphere of New England to the deputy-governorship of the Quaker province, John Blackwell quickly quarreled with the council, broke up the assembly, and within a year went to England. The Pennsylvania council was elected by the people; Penn made the council his deputy and the council chose Thomas Lloyd, an honest, educated Quaker, as president of Pennsylvania.

Penn's Purpose



Autograph of Thomas Lloyd

25th of 7th month [September], 1689

The lower counties that Penn had obtained from the duke of York were not covered by the royal charter and their union with Pennsylvania was little more than nominal. In April, 1691, the territory now called Delaware was given a separate government with William Markham as lieutenant-governor. Lloyd continued as president of Pennsylvania and retained a well-defined supremacy over both provinces as the representative of the proprietor.

Delaware

The accession of William and Mary brought unexpected trouble. Repeatedly arrested on charges of disloyalty, Penn successfully answered every calumny and thrice went free. In 1690, he was ready to embark for America when another order for his arrest was issued.

Penn in Great Trouble

1690–1695 The delay was disastrous. His fortune was wrecked, his wife was dead, dissensions tore the province, and he was forced to leave unanswered the complaints that came to England. In October, 1692, Delaware and Pennsylvania were reunited and taken under the rule of Benjamin Fletcher, the royal governor of New York.

Old Swedes' Church, Wilmington, Delaware

Fletcher met the Pennsylvania assembly in May, 1693, and practically compelled it to give assistance in fortifying the frontier of New York. A year later, he again summoned the assembly and, failing to bring it to his way of thinking, dissolved it. About this time, Penn appeared before the king in council and once more established his innocence.

Penn Regains his Province

Possibly the king had never doubted Penn's innocence of Jacobite schemes; perhaps the transfer of the government of Pennsylvania was dictated by military prudence. It is easy to imagine that, in such strenuous times, it would not seem safe to leave Pennsylvania in the hands of men who had conscientious scruples about drawing a sword or firing a gun. The patent for Penn's restoration passed the seals in August, 1694.

A Pennsylvania Triumvirate

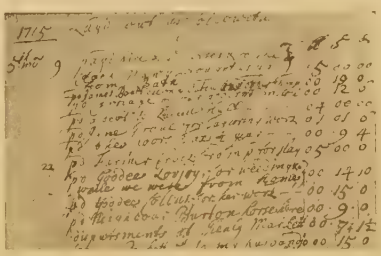
Penn appointed "my cousin, William Markham, governor under mee of my province of Pennsilvania," and constituted John Goodson and Samuell Carpenter assistants to him in government. The next assembly assumed that the old constitution had been annulled by the interregnum and would have "their privileges granted

September, 1695

before they would give any monie." Markham dissolved the assembly but the work thus attempted was accomplished in 1696. When the assembly of 1697 convened, Markham said: "You are met not by virtue of any writ of mine, but of a law made by yourselves." 1695–1700

In 1697, Penn submitted to the board of trade "A Briefe and Plaine Scheame" for a congress of twenty members annually chosen by the colonial assemblies and presided over by a president chosen by the king — the first of many suggestions looking toward defensive union among the English colonies. The war with France had emphasized the importance of united action and, for the next fourscore years, the pending question was whether this should be met by consolidation under a military dictatorship, as proposed by the board of trade, or by a federal union in accord with some such scheme as that outlined by Penn. Penn's Plan of Union

When, after fifteen years' absence, Penn returned to his province, he was received with enthusiasm. He found a colony having more thousands of people than it had years of existence, a city of "above two thousand houses, and Most of them stately and of Brick, generally three stories high, after the Mode in London." He made his residence at the "slate-roof house" which became the birthplace of John "the American," the oldest son of his second wife, Hannah Penn. In the spring, he moved to Pennsbury Manor, his country seat on the Delaware, twenty miles above the city. Upon this estate of six thousand acres he had built a worthy mansion in which, without ostentation but with a more luxurious living than was then common in the colonies, he made his home. The ladies wore jewels and rich gowns and Penn is known to have bought four wigs in a single year. Philadelphia December, 1699



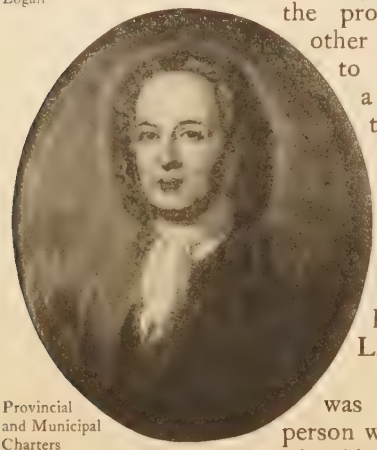
Memoranda from Hannah Penn's Household Expense Book

1700

1701

Quarry, Lloyd, and Logan

Prominent among those in Pennsylvania who were unfriendly to Penn was Robert Quarry, lately of Carolina but now an admiralty judge and therefore independent of the proprietary government. He and other English churchmen, "though able to accomplish little, could always be a nuisance and create an alarm that the province might again be seized by the crown." Another malcontent was David Lloyd, a Welsh lawyer who had been attorney-general of the province. Penn had brought with him a young man, James Logan, and him he pitted against Quarry and Lloyd.



James Logan

Provincial and Municipal Charters

In October, 1701, a new charter was signed by the proprietor. No person who should "confess and acknowledge Almighty God, the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the World," was to be molested on account of his religion, and all who "profess to believe in Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the World," were to be eligible for any office. This charter remained in force until Pennsylvania ceased to be a proprietary province. By another document executed the same day, a council of state was constituted and empowered, under specified conditions, to administer the government. In the same month, Philadelphia was raised from a borough to a city.

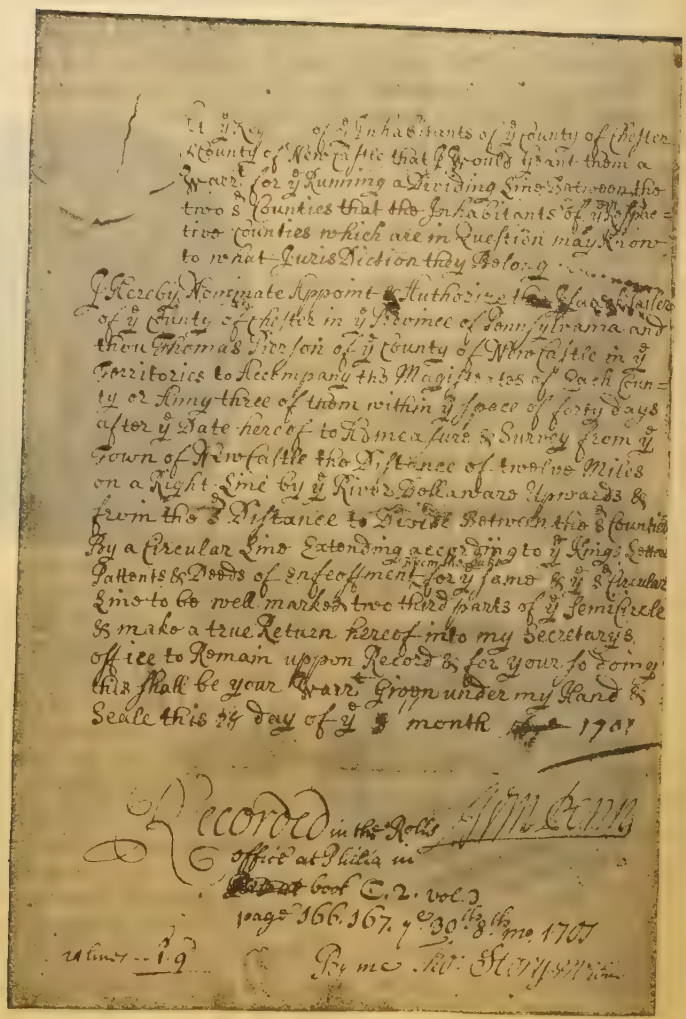
Seal of Philadelphia, 1701

October 28

October 25

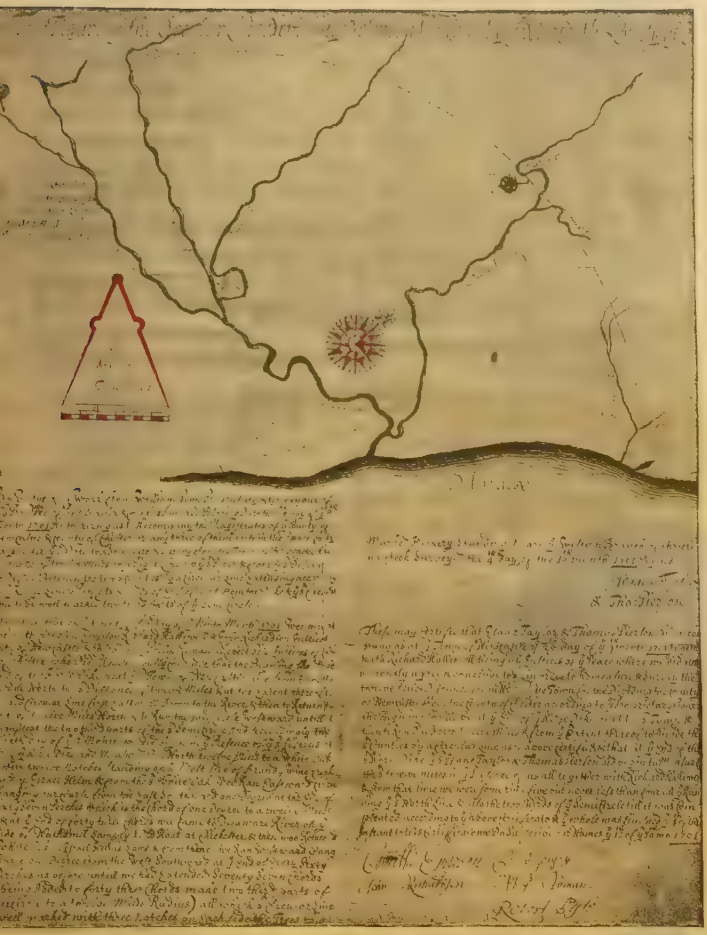
Life's Work Well Done

Knowing the determination of the English ministry to substitute royal for proprietary government in the American colonies, Penn had urged the assembly: "Review



PENN'S ORDER FOR THE SURVEY OF THE CIRCULAR BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE COUNTIES OF CHESTER (PENNSYLVANIA) AND NEW CASTLE (NOW DELAWARE)

(From original in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society)



REPORT OF THE COMMISSION APPOINTED BY PENN TO SURVEY THE PENNSYLVANIA BOUNDARY

(From original in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society)

again your laws; propose new ones that may better your circumstances; and what you do, do it quickly." 1701–1709

Intrusting the government of Pennsylvania to Andrew Hamilton, the governor of New Jersey, and his proprietary estates to James Logan, the provincial secretary, Penn returned to England. He had given self-government to two states; his work was done.

Penn in Prison

Penn reached England in December, 1701, and King William died in the following March. With the accession of Queen Anne, William Penn was restored to court favor and legal proceedings against his charter were discontinued. About this time, Philip Ford, Penn's steward, died leaving Penn's estate in great confusion. Ford's son and widow brought suit for money loaned and sought possession of the province. The Pennsylvania legislature refused a loan to relieve Penn of his difficulties and for nine months the Quaker proprietor was lodged "in the precincts of a debtor's prison!"

Delaware's Separate Assembly

Hamilton tried in vain to reconcile the Pennsylvania and the Delaware delegates and died in December, 1702. During the presidency of Edward Shippen, it was agreed, under the provisions of the new charter, that they should meet as separate assemblies; they never were reunited. Shippen was succeeded by John Evans, a new deputy-governor sent by the proprietor. Evans arrived at Philadelphia in December, 1703. His attempt to effect a legislative union wholly failed and both assemblies enjoyed their annual quarrel with the governor until his recall in February, 1709.

Penn's Seal, attached to a Land Patent, dated July 20, 1713

Other troubles huddled on Penn's back. There were frequent collisions between the Pennsylvania people and James Logan, Penn's agent for the unsold lands. In 1710, Logan was forced to leave the country, Quarry was making no end of trouble, David Lloyd, now the speaker of the house, became the

View of Philadelphia, Painted

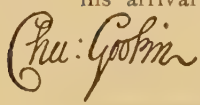
1709 leader of "all who were not Friends and many who were" in opposition to the proprietary party, and Penn threatened to sell the province to the crown.

A Scapegrace Son

In addition to these trials was a private grief that bore a public scandal. Penn's oldest son, William, had given "great promise of future worthlessness" and the father sent the young man to America. There the succession of lewd associations and disgraceful midnight orgies was made worse by the boon companionship of Governor Evans. Finally there came a tavern brawl in which young Penn beat a constable and was arrested. When the governor declared his rank to protect his person, his antagonist, quick of wit as well as strong of muscle, beat him all the more for such a scandalous allegation against the chief magistrate. Evans vainly used his official power to protect his companion, sold all the property that his father had given him, and sailed for England leaving creditors everywhere behind him.

Quaker Expedients

Evans's successor was Charles Gookin. Soon after his arrival he made a requisition for men to fight for the queen against the French or for a certain sum of money in the place thereof. Of course, the Quakers could not contribute anything for war but they were willing to

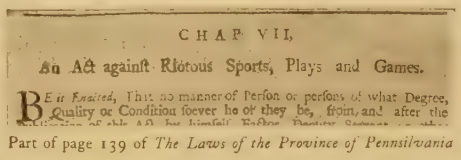


Autograph of Charles Gookin

BY PETER COOPER, ABOUT 1718

make a present to the queen. "We did not see it inconsistent with our principles to give the queen money notwithstanding any use she might put it to, that being not our part but hers." There are many stories of expedients invented later for the adjustment of necessary defense to conscientious scruples. 1709 1718

Governor Gookin's conduct awakened doubts as to his sanity. He tried to substitute an oath for the Quaker affirmation (an extension of English law that would have disqualified the Pennsylvania majority as witnesses, jurors, and office holders), quarreled with both factions, and was recalled in 1717. He was succeeded by Sir William Keith, the founder's last appointment to the office. Keith began his service as deputy-governor of Pennsylvania and Delaware under favorable conditions and took pains to care well for his personal popularity and prosperity. Governors Gookin and Keith



CHAP. VII.

An Act againſt Riotous Sports, Plays and Games.

BE it Enacted, That no manner of Perſon or perſons of what Degree, Quality or Condition ſoever he or they be, from, and after the

Part of page 139 of *The Laws of the Province of Pennsilvania*

May 31, 1717

William Penn never recovered from an attack of apoplexy. Unfit for business, he lingered for six years on his estate at Ruscombe and then died. His landed estates Penn's Death and Heirs

July 30, 1718

1718 in England and Ireland were willed to his dissipated son and his province to trustees for the benefit of his children by his second wife. The oldest son contested his father's will but the English courts confirmed the province and the right of its government to John, Thomas, and Richard Penn as heirs, and to their mother as executrix.

Historical Interpretation

During the period covered by this chapter, Pennsylvania policy and legislation were under Quaker control. The remarkable commingling of nationalities and religions and the popular isolation of several of the elements of the population had not yet led, as they subsequently did, to serious interference with Quaker domination. In the persistent quarrels on all sorts of questions many have seen only petty and ridiculous disputes and been blind to the great principles involved. But added light and keener sight have shown that the continued wrestling constituted a slow but sure and steady development of the idea of constitutional liberty.

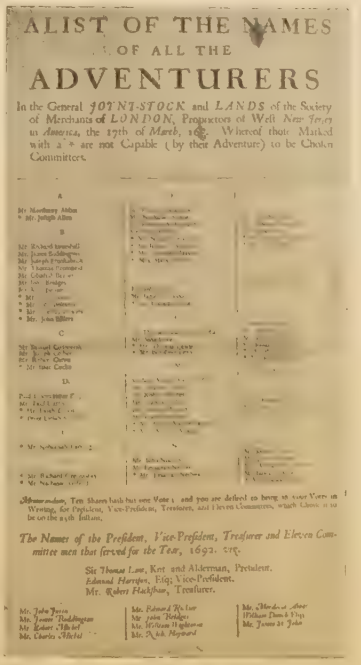
New Jersey

Although the proprietors of East Jersey had, in 1688, given up the right of government of that province, retaining only the right to dispose of the land, the English ministry did not take efficient action on the surrender for several years. A new commission extended the authority of Sir Edmund Andros, then governor-general of New England, over New York and both of the Jerseys, but Andros soon came to grief at Boston and the sway of Nicholson, his lieutenant at New York, was cut short by Leisler. The sovereignty had reverted to the crown but no commissions came from England. Hence confusion, disputes, and lack of authority for magistrates or military officers. The plantation was saved from anarchy only by its freedom from attacks by external foes, the local powers of the towns, and the character of the population.

A Royal Province

In 1689, exclusive proprietary powers in West Jersey were claimed by Doctor Daniel Coxe and resisted by the people. In 1691, Coxe transferred his alleged authority to the West Jersey society and Andrew Hamilton

became governor in the following year. But this adjustment of the dispute was questioned by the law officers of the crown who claimed all of Jersey as a royal province. The West Jersey proprietors foresaw the inevitable parliamentary interference and, in 1702, made surrender of all "pretended" rights of government. The two Jerseys were then united in one province under the incomparable Lord Cornbury. Administrative power was vested in a royal governor, a council of twelve appointed by the crown, and an assembly of twenty-four elected by the freeholders. For more than a generation, New Jersey had its own assembly and the same governors as New York. Proprietary government in America was little more than a reminiscence. 1718


ALIST OF THE NAMES
OF ALL THE
ADVENTURERS
In the General JOYNT-STOCK and LANDS of the Society of Merchants of LONDON, Proprietors of West New Jersey in America, the 17th of March, 169[illegible] Whereof those Marked with a * are not Capable (by their Adventure) to be Chosen Committees.
The Names of the President, Vice-President, Treasurer and Eleven Committee men that served for the Year, 1692: viz.
Sir Thomas Lane, Knt and Alderman, President.
Edmund Harrison, Esq; Vice-President.
Mr. Robert Fitchfield, Treasurer.

A Broadside List of the Members of the Society of Merchants of London, 1692-93

CHAPTER XVI

ROYAL RULE IN MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA

1690
1715

Nicholson in Virginia

COLONEL Francis Nicholson, who was sent in 1690 as deputy-governor of Virginia, seems to have profited by his experience in New York. Although trained in a bad school, he was an improvement on his immediate predecessors. In violation of the orders of Governor Effingham, who was in England, Nicholson convoked the Virginia assembly. When the assembly added three hundred pounds to his salary, he gave half that sum or more to aid in the founding of the college of William and Mary. Some said that he was generous, others that he was shrewd.

Autograph of Francis Nicholson

Nicholson out and Andros in

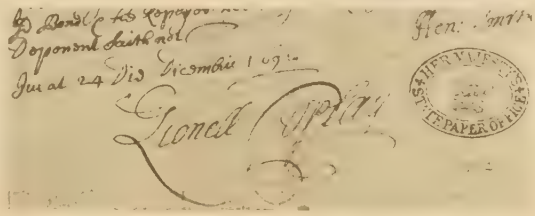
In spite of his ability, Nicholson's peppery ways interfered with his popularity and he was recalled. About this time, Effingham resigned or was removed and, on the twentieth of September, 1692, Sir Edmund Andros, late of Boston, at James City published his commission as governor. Virginia seems to have been a convenient refuge for unpopular governors.

Protestant Persecution in the Catholic Palatinate

May 10, 1692

In the meantime, Sir Lionel Copley had been welcomed as the first royal governor of Maryland. He promptly appointed a council and convoked an assembly. The first act of the assembly recognized the new English

sovereigns; the second established the Anglican church and laid an annual poll-tax of forty pounds of tobacco for the building of churches and the support of the clergy. 1692 1694



Autograph of Lionel Copley

As the quality of the tobacco was not specified, the few clergymen in the province came near starving. The decade was one of continual wrangling. In 1702, after several intolerant acts had been disallowed by the crown, a more moderate act extended toleration to Quakers and other dissenters. The Quakers were freed from their political disabilities but no relief was given to Catholics. The poll-tax for the maintenance of the established church and other impositions were continued for all until the American revolution.

Copley's Death

Copley died in 1693 and the Maryland monotony was varied by petty dissensions relating to the succession. Nicholson had been commissioned as lieutenant-governor of Maryland but he was in England. Andros claimed the government, the president of the council insisted that he stood next in order of succession, and another member of the council set up the plea that Copley had bequeathed the office to him by will. Fortunately Nicholson arrived about the end of July, 1694.

Churches and Churches

A petition to the king, a few years before, had set forth that Maryland was without a church or any settled ministry. There were churches but no Churches. There were Presbyterians and Catholics and Quakers but not many Episcopalians. To bring this people into the Anglican communion was the policy of the king and the duty of the governor. Nicholson brought with him six clergymen and others soon followed. One writer tells us that "all that law and intolerance could do was done," while another says that they aroused "a torpid community into some zeal for education and religion."

1694 Thus is history sometimes colored by personal predilection.

A New Colonial Capital

In 1694, the capital of Maryland was moved to the Puritan settlement on the Severn. In honor of the queen, the name was changed from Providence to Annapolis, the first of a large American family of etymological hybrids, as John Fiske has pointed out. The state church and the tax for its support created dissatisfaction and the loss of influence by the Catholics and Quakers forced some of the best elements of the population into bitter opposition.

Schools in Maryland

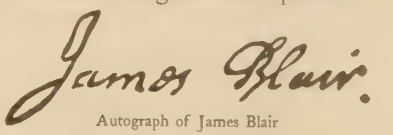
But with the bitterness that episcopacy was to the Puritan and that oppression was to the Catholic, came a long-needed good. Under the proprietary rule, there had been no provision for schools of any kind. Nicholson now

September 24 sent to the assembly a message on this subject and, in the following month, an act was passed for free school maintenance. In 1695, the assembly enacted an export duty on furs and skins "for the encouragement of learning." In 1696, the assembly provided for a school to be built at Annapolis and called King William's school. The revenues from the export duty on furs were amplified by voluntary contributions, Governor Nicholson subscribing fifty pounds for a building and twenty-five pounds a year for the support of a master. The school was opened in 1701. Authority was also granted for the erection of one free school in each county of the province. For want of funds, these had to wait, but Nicholson's interest in the cause of education had been manifested for the good of Maryland as it had been for the good of Virginia.

Andros in Virginia

Andros was warmly welcomed to Virginia; perhaps there were cavaliers who loved him for the enemies that he had made at Massachusetts Bay. He aided in providing postal routes and offices, looked after the collection and preservation of colonial records, encouraged manufactures, and won a brief popularity. In the oldest English colony in America there was not yet a single

market-town. English ships had to lie for months in the rivers of the Old Dominion while cargoes were picked up at the scattered plantations on their banks. The Virginians "daily grew more and more averse" to anything like village life and Andros found it difficult and disagreeable to enforce the navigation act. 1692 1693

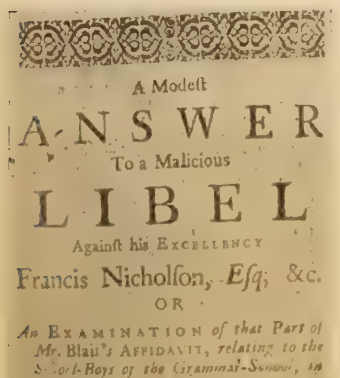


Autograph of James Blair

In 1685, James Blair, a London preacher, went to Virginia. In 1689, the bishop of London made him his commissary for the Old Dominion. In 1691, Blair went to England to seek the founding of a college in the colony. In spite of strong opposition, the approval of the monarchs was won. When, in trying to allay the antagonism of the attorney-general, Blair spoke of settlers who had souls to be saved, Sir Edward Seymour made the reply: "Souls! Damn your souls! Make tobacco!" But Seymour drew up the charter and it was a very good charter. Voluntary subscriptions and the accumulated quit-rents provided an endowment, and a grant of twenty thousand acres and a duty of a penny per pound on tobacco exported from Virginia or Maryland added to the income. The assembly increased the total by an export duty on skins and furs.

Commissary Blair

A College Charter February, 1693



A Modeſt

ANSWER

To a Malicious

LIBEL

Againſt his Excellency

Francis Nicholſon, *Eſq*; &c.

OR

An Examination *of that Part of Mr.* Blair's Affidavit, *relating to the* Short-Boys *of the Grammar-School, in her Majeſty's Royal College of* William *and* Mary *in* Virginia.

Written in Virginia, *in the Year* 1704.

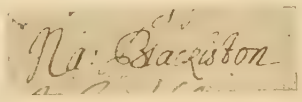
I WILL not ſay (ſays he) he had any Deſign upon my Life; yet, he would fain perſwade the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations, that there was ſuch a Deſign; he ſays the whole Frame of his Accuſation, is to be believed: before we lift this Dart thrown upon his Excellency's

First page of *A Modest Answer to a Malicious Libel*, 1706

1698 Blair became the first president of the second college
1708 in English America. Andros did not look with favor
The College of William and Mary upon the college project and seems to have lain awake of nights trying to devise fresh ways for thwarting and annoying Blair. Finally the interference became so outrageous that the bishop of London interfered and Andros was recalled. In 1698, Nicholson, a staunch friend of the college, was transferred from Maryland to Virginia. After a few years spent as governor of the little island of Jersey, Andros went into retirement and, in 1714, he died. Blair retained the presidency of the college until his death in 1743.

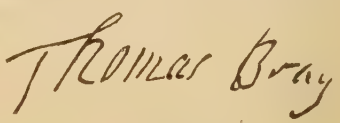
Maryland Events

In Maryland, Nicholson was succeeded by Nathaniel Blackiston and he by John Seymour. After Seymour's death in 1709, Edward Lloyd, president of the council, acted as governor until the arrival of John Hart. During their rule, there were a few events of importance such as an occasional French foray, a visit from the pirates on the Chesapeake, and the coming of Thomas Bray as the commissary of the bishop of London. The shameful discrimination against Catholics was continued and new severities like the "oath of abhorrency," were added to the statute book. An act of 1704 prohibited Catholics from saying mass publicly and from teaching the young. In the same year, however, another act permitted priests to perform religious services in Catholic families. Among the Catholics were many men of ability and character, some of whom made the most of the concession by building chapels as parts of their homes so that they, their families, and their guests might, in private, enjoy the religious ministrations that were still denied to them in public. In 1708, Annapolis was incorporated.



Autograph of Nathaniel Blackiston

March 12, 1700



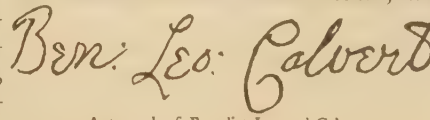
Autograph of Thomas Bray

Private Chapels

1698–1715

The Restoration of Proprietary Rights

Charles, the third Lord Baltimore, died on the twentieth of February, 1714-15, leaving his title and his rights to his son, Benedict Leonard Calvert, who had renounced Catholicism. A few weeks after his father's death, this fourth Lord Baltimore died leaving a son Charles, then about sixteen years old.



Autograph of Benedict Leonard Calvert

April 5

The guardian of this fifth Lord Baltimore promptly recommissioned John Hart, the royal governor of the province, as the representative of the proprietor. This looked as though there had been a confirmation of the old charter and a restoration of proprietary rights. There were no more royal governors in Maryland but, in the twenty years, conditions had been radically changed. The population of the province had doubled and the sentiment of personal loyalty had died.

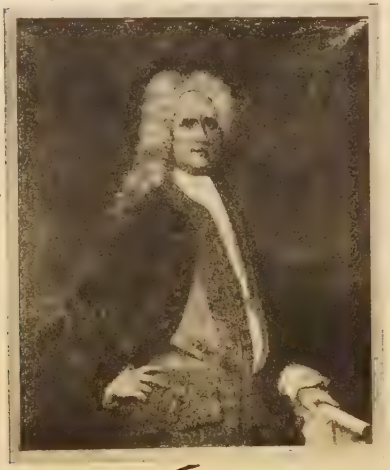
Virginia's New Capital

Jamestown had been burned in 1676 and malaria made its abandonment desirable. The new college had been built at Middle Plantation and when, in 1698, Nicholson returned to Virginia as full governor, he there laid out a town, named it in honor of the king, and made Williamsburg a colonial capital. In 1700, the first college commencement was recognized as the mark of an era in the progress of Virginia. With their families and retinues of slaves, planters came from every part of the Old Dominion, and the other colonies sent distinguished representatives to do honor to the occasion.

Nicholson's Recall

The most important political event of Nicholson's second administration in Virginia was the control that the assembly secured over the treasury. Through the neglect or the indifference of the royal governor, the colonial treasurer became an officer of the assembly, a gain that was to be of great importance when the purse became the deputies' great weapon. Of course, the misplay added nothing to Nicholson's standing with the home government. Then, too, his blustering ways

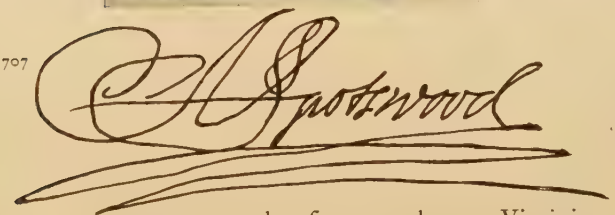
1705 often got him into trouble. For example, he fell passion-
1710 ately in love and threatened that if Miss Burwell married anyone else, he would "cut the throats of three men: the bridegroom, the minister, and the justice who issued the license." When he assaulted the parish minister, whom he suspected of being his rival, the council took prompt action. In 1705, he was recalled to England. In spite of inherent defects of character and training, he was one of the ablest men who took a prominent part in the political affairs of early Virginia.



Laissez Faire

About this time, Queen Anne gave the titular governorship of Virginia to the earl of Orkney for forty years. His first deputy, Edward Nott, died several months after his arrival in Virginia and Robert Hunter, named by the earl as Nott's successor, was captured by the French on his way to the colony. Thus it came to pass that for several years Virginia was happy in self-rule administered by the council under their president, Edmund Jennings. "Pernicious notions, fatal to the royal prerogative, were improving daily."

1707



Spotswood

Among the English wounded at Blenheim was Alexander Spotswood. In June, 1710, he arrived in Virginia, the ablest of her royal governors and the bearer of

the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus*. This great gift heightened the enthusiasm of his reception, but he was a royal governor, the burgesses had grown strong, and the harmony could not continue. There was danger of a French invasion from Canada at one end of the English line and of Indian troubles in Carolina at the other end. Spotswood wanted to lend a helping hand but the seat of war was remote and the burgesses pulled the purse-strings. The governor called on England for assistance and did the best he could with scanty funds. 1710 1715

An Able Governor

There were other disagreements, but Spotswood was never weary of his labors for the general prosperity. The college needed helping friends; Spotswood was such a friend. When the Tuscaroras made their sudden and fierce attack on the North Carolina settlements, Spotswood managed to hold back the tributary Indians of Virginia. Iron was first forged in 1714, and the governor was so earnest in his efforts to encourage its manufacture that Byrd of Westover called him "The Tubal Cain of Virginia." Palatine Germans sent over by Queen Anne were settled on his estate on the Rapidan where a county was soon organized and named in his honor. The student of the map of Virginia still finds a reminder of their coming in the name Germanna Ford, and a great war has made Spotsylvania famous.

Tubal Cain Redivivus

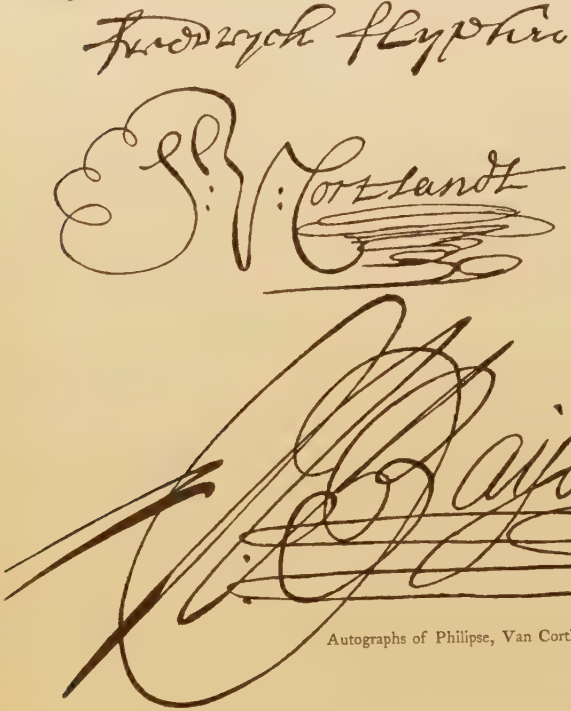
CHAPTER XVII

ROYAL RULE IN NEW YORK

1689
1698

The Leisler Régime

FEAR of the French and a "No Popery" cry had lifted Leisler into temporary power. There were more Catholics in New York than there were in all New England. There were other Catholics in Canada, willing to invade and to hold New York for France with which England was at war. When the New York Protestants heard that a French fleet was actually on its way



Autographs of Philipse, Van Cortlandt, and Bayard

from Europe, they believed that between those within and those without there was a unity of purpose. Nicholson had gone back to England and Leisler denied the authority of Philipse, Van Cortlandt, and Bayard, the only remaining members of Nicholson's council. The king did not understand and "Little Cromwell" would save the province for his majesty. At Leisler's call, delegates from the towns and counties met in convention on the twenty-sixth of June. They constituted themselves a committee of safety and made Leisler commander of the fort and later commander-in-chief of the province. 1689

The "Little Cromwell"

When the letter intended for Nicholson, but addressed to "Our Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of Our Province of New York in America and in his absence to such as for the time being take care for Preserving the Peace Administring the Lawes in Our said Province," fell into Leisler's hands, he assumed the title indicated in the missive, appointed a council, and "took his seat next Sunday in the gubernatorial pew at church, to the intense disgust and chagrin of the aristocrats among the worshippers." Although Leisler had prospered in a worldly way and had married a niece of Anneke Jans, he was of humble birth and somewhat coarse. On the whole, he was one on whom "society" felt obliged to frown.

A Plebeian in Power

If the danger from the Catholics in New York was imaginary, the danger from the French in Canada was very real. The French king had matured a scheme for the conquest of New York and New England. In the very week in which Leisler took command of the New York fort, Louis wrote to Frontenac concerning the disposition to be made of the inhabitants of the province that he was to conquer; there was to be little consideration for heresy or heretics. The revocation of the edict of Nantes had sent many Huguenot refugees to New York. The Iroquois-English alliance and the collapse of the scheme of the French king were fortunate for them.

A French Scheme

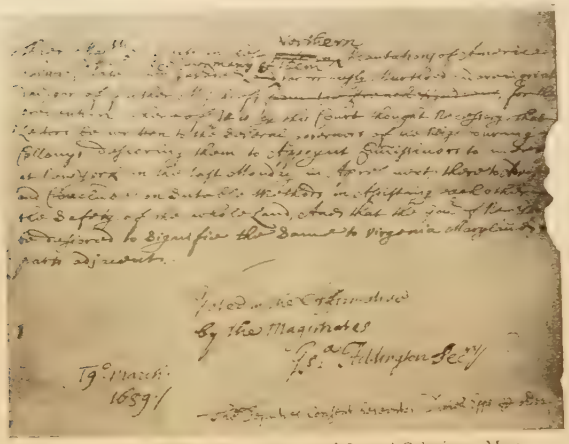
June 7

When Frontenac found that the royal plan had been

1690 spoiled, he sent three war parties against the settlements of Maine, New Hampshire, and New York, thus to revive the courage of his colonists. One of these parties burned Schenectady and killed threescore. Milborne had been sent to Albany and had been refused possession of the fort. Now, Albany asked for aid and Milborne was sent with a hundred and sixty men. The recalcitrants could not refuse the proffered help and Leisler's authority was practically recognized. Factional strife was shamed into silence; "Schenectady was the Fort Sumter of that day."

An Attack on Schenectady

February 8, 1690



Massachusetts Bill for Commissioners of Several Colonies to Meet at New York and Confederate for Defense against French and Indians, Dated March 19, 1690

According to British law, the king might rule his conquered or "crown" province as he pleased. The assembly elected in 1683 had been dissolved in 1687 and later laws had been enacted by the governor and council. Leisler's government needed revenue but, when he attempted to enforce the excise law of 1683, his proclamations were torn down and payments were refused. The refusal to pay taxes forced another act of far-reaching influence; Leisler ordered the election of a general assembly. The assembly, thus established, provided for raising money by a general tax and was recognized by the king.

The General Assembly of the Conquered Province

April

On the second of April, 1690, Leisler called the first colonial congress, a memorable event in American history. The idea had been suggested by a convention at Albany

A Colonial Congress

in February and endorsed by the action of the Massachusetts general court in March. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York sent two commissioners each and Plymouth sent one. The Quaker governor of Rhode Island said that there was not time for the assembly to convene for the appointment of commissioners but the colony would aid to the utmost of its ability to resist the French and the Indians. Word came from Maryland that arms and men would be sent to aid in the general defense; and from Virginia, that nothing could be done until the arrival of the daily-expected governor. 1690

A Continental Army

The seven delegates from the four colonies assembled at New York and unanimously agreed to raise a force of eight hundred and fifty-five men. Massachusetts was to provide one hundred and sixty men; Plymouth, sixty; Connecticut, one hundred and thirty-five; New York, four hundred; and Maryland, one hundred. The Iroquois subsequently promised to join the expedition. There was no proposition for a permanent organization and none of the southern colonies took part. The bonds of union were feeble; the elements of a separate nationality were not ripe. May 1

The Winthrop Expedition

From the deliberations of this congress came a naval expedition that was to ascend the Saint Lawrence and take Quebec, and a land expedition that was to advance on Montreal by way of Lake Champlain—two disastrous failures. Of the estimated eight hundred and fifty-five for the land expedition, the quota of Maryland did not appear and Massachusetts and Plymouth were obliged to withdraw theirs for the defense of their frontiers. The New York and Connecticut militia rendezvoused at Albany—a feeble and discordant band. There were mutual jealousies, but the two New York factions finally consented to the appointment of Fitz-John Winthrop of Connecticut as commander.

A Military Failure

Winthrop's forces marched northward from Albany and halted where Wood Creek widens into Lake Champlain. Disputes between the troops of the two colonies, quarrels between the New York factions, the want of

1690 provisions and canoes, the ravages of smallpox, and the
1691 sullen tardiness of the Iroquois ruined the enterprise. It was impossible to advance and Winthrop gave orders to return to Albany. The failure of the expedition was relieved a little by Captain John Schuyler's attack on La Prairie near Montreal, a picturesque raid that accomplished nothing of importance. The story of the conquest of Acadia and of the failure of the naval expedition against Quebec will be related in a later chapter.

The Schuyler Raid

Map of the Lake Champlain Country

Sloughter

In September, 1689, Colonel Henry Sloughter had been chosen to rule New York for the crown. Sloughter lingered in England more than a year and then was storm-swept to Bermuda, thus postponing his arrival until March, 1691. Richard Ingoldesby, who had sailed from England with a company of grenadiers and had been separated from Sloughter by the storm, arrived in New York a few weeks in advance of the governor. Leisler treated him with courtesy but refused to give up the fort until the arrival of some person authorized to receive it. As to what took place next, the accounts differ, but there were fatal hostilities and Ingoldesby remained outside the fort.

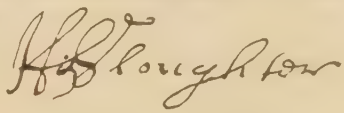
The Advent of Ingoldesby

January 29, 1691

When Sloughter arrived at New York, he ordered the

arrest of Leisler and his council for murder and treason. Leisler and Milborne refused to plead and appealed to the king. As mutes, they were convicted and Joseph Dudley pronounced the death sentence. On the seventh of May, Sloughter wrote that he was "resolved to wait for the royal pleasure if by any other means than hanging he could keep the country quiet;" on the fourteenth, he assented to the council's vote for execution; on the fifteenth, "the house did approve of what his excellency and council had done;" on the following day, Leisler and his son-in-law were hanged and then beheaded.

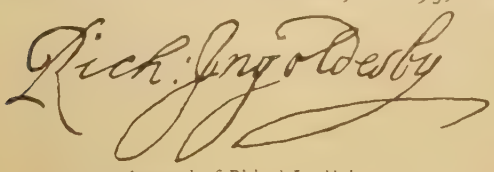
1691 Leisler's Execution



Autograph of Henry Sloughter

Leisler's son urged the appeal that had been denied to his father. The estates of "the deceased" were restored to their families and, in 1695, an act of parliament reversed the attainder. Thus did the court of last resort decide that Leisler was judicially murdered. Leisler was undoubtedly fanatical and sometimes arbitrary and tyrannical; he was the victim of "an untimely patriotism and still more uncalled-for religious zeal," says one, and of "a distempered fancy," says another; but history will bear witness to his integrity as a man, his loyalty as a subject, and his purity as a patriot.

Leisler's Vindication



Autograph of Richard Ingoldesby

The new assembly, the first in this colony under the direct authority of the English crown, convened on the ninth of April, 1691, reënacted the charter of liberties of 1683 with some modifications, and asserted that a representative government and English liberties were theirs by inherent right and not by royal favor, a declaration that was promptly vetoed by the governor. The assembly also declared that no tax whatever should be levied within

The New York Assembly

May 13

1691 the province "upon any manor of Colour or pretence
1692 whatsoever, but by the Act and Consent of the governor and Councill and Representatives of the people in generall Assembly mett and Convened."

A Bill of Rights

In spite of these democratic manifestations, most of the legislation of the session was deferential to the royal wish. A supreme court was established and Joseph Dudley was made the chief-justice. Although the accession of William and Mary weakened the cause of self-government in the half-rebellious republic of Massachusetts, it was a distinct gain for that cause in the royal province of New York. The new bill of rights was essentially democratic and rested with the ministry six years before it was vetoed by the king. The enactments, the comments, and the delay now appear significant. They make one of the many long-unheeded tokens that the war for American independence was less a quarrel about taxes than an outburst of forces that had long been generating.

Governor Fletcher

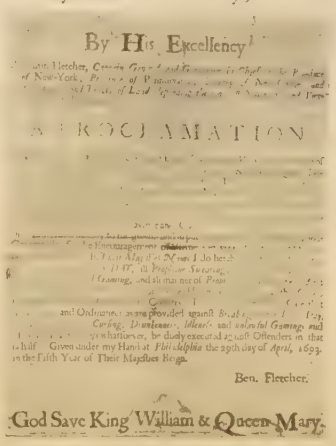
In June, 1691, Governor Sloughter died so suddenly that some suspected poison and others suggested delirium tremens. Ingoldesby acted as governor until the coming of his successor, Colonel Benjamin Fletcher who arrived at New York on the twenty-ninth of August, 1692. He was also given the government of Pennsylvania and Delaware and command of the militia of Connecticut and New Jersey. About the same time, Sir William Phips was made governor of Massachusetts and commander-in-chief of the military forces of Connecticut and Rhode Island. Threatened Indian hostilities made it important that the colonial forces should have a head and so both Phips and Fletcher were given command over those of Connecticut which already had a charter and a commander-in-chief of its own. Of course, Phips and Fletcher quarreled, each with the other and both with Governor Treat.

Autograph of Benjamin Fletcher

A Military Muddle

In April, 1693, Fletcher visited Philadelphia in great pomp. He convoked the Pennsylvania assembly, named William Markham as deputy-governor of Pennsylvania, and returned to New York leaving Pennsylvania much as he had found it. While in Philadelphia he took action on a petition of William Bradford who, in 1685, had set up a printing-press there and, in 1692, had been arrested for seditious libel. Fletcher took Bradford to New York where he set up the first press in the province. For forty years, he was the only printer in the colony and for about fifty years he was the public printer.

1693 Fletcher Visits Pennsylvania


By His Excellency
PROCLAMATION
Ben. Fletcher.
God Save King William & Queen Mary.

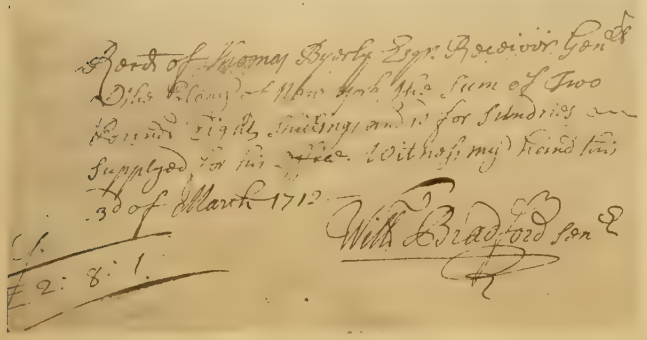
Fletcher's Lord's Day Proclamation

Bradford the Printer

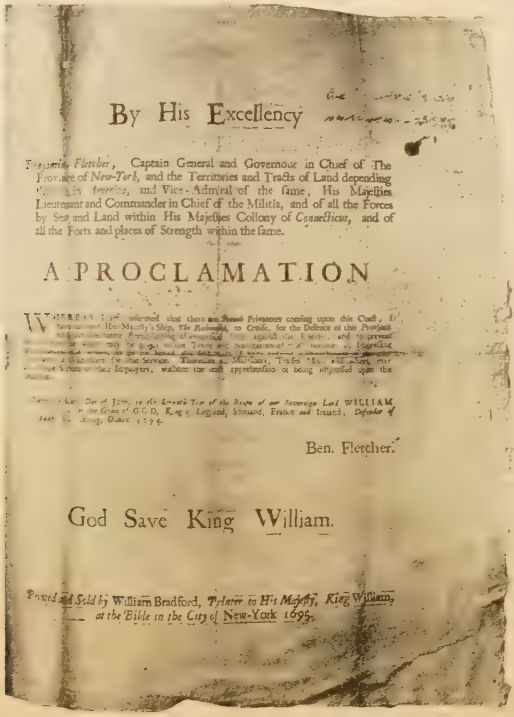
1693-1733

About this time, the population of New York increased with rapidity and real-estate values advanced by "marvelous leaps." It was "the age of tradition and story, of privateer and pirate, of Captain Kidd and the Red Sea men." The conditions were favorable for levying black-

Fletcher's Troubles and Downfall


Receipt by William Bradford

1693 mail on pirates and for peculations of many kinds by an
1698 official who was continually in want of money as Fletcher was. In 1694, the governor refused to account for forty thousand pounds claiming that it was the duty of the assembly to raise money and that of the governor and council to spend it. Hot discussions followed and the governor dissolved the assembly. In 1697, he told the members of the legislature that "there are none of you but what are big with the privileges of Englishmen and Magna Charta." Early in 1698, he returned to England to answer many charges of maladministration. His successor was Richard Coote, the earl of Bellomont.



By His Excellency

Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governour in Chief of The Province of New-York, and the Territories and Tracts of Land depending thereon in America, and Vice-Admiral of the same, His Majesties Lieutenant and Commander in Chief of the Militia, and of all the Forces by Sea and Land within His Majesties Colony of Connecticut, and of all the Forts and places of Strength within the same.

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS I am informed that there are Pyrates coming upon this Coast, &c.

Ben. Fletcher.

God Save King William.

Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to His Majesty, King William, at the Bible in the City of New-York 1695.

Benjamin Fletcher's Proclamation, June 6, 1695, Ordering a Ship and Detachment of Soldiers to Guard the Coast Against French Privateers

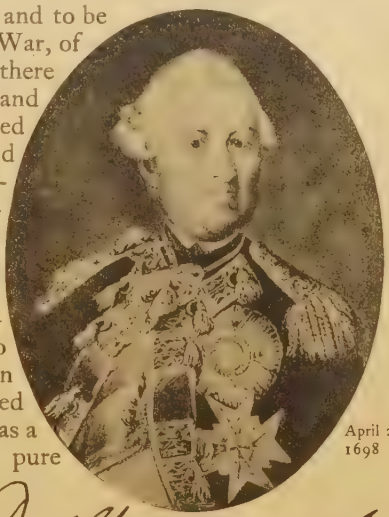
CHAPTER XVIII

ROYAL RULE IN NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY

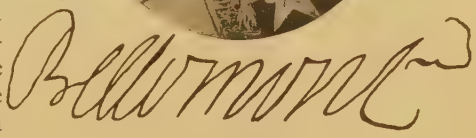
1698–1719

IN March, 1697, the duke of Shrewsbury notified the lords of trade that the king had appointed Richard Coote, the earl of Bellomont "to be Governor of the Provinces of New Yorke, Massachusets Bay and New Hampshire and to be Captaine Generall during the War, of all His Majesty's forces both there and in Connecticutt, Rhode Island and the Jerseys" and directed that his several commissions and instructions be prepared accordingly. Bellomont's commission as governor of New York was issued in June and he seems to have sailed from England in November. Violent storms drove his ship to Barbados whence he wrote on the eighth of January; he landed at New York in April. He was a man of strong character and pure life, of a nobler type than the average colonial governor. Intending to cure the evils of Fletcher's rule and bound by the oath newly prescribed for provincial governors, Bellomont

Bellomont



April 2, 1698



1698 endeavored to enforce the neglected acts of trade and
1701 devoted himself with almost passionate zeal to efforts for the suppression of piracy.

Bellomont Favors the Leisler Faction

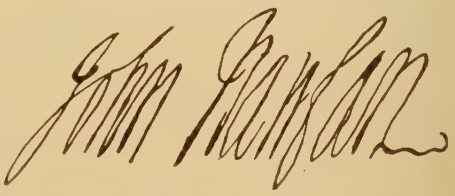
As a member of a parliamentary commission, Bellomont had listened to the testimony relating to Leisler's execution and had expressed the opinion that he had been "barbarously murdered." Largely through his influence, an act of indemnity for Leisler's family was passed by the legislature and the bodies of Leisler and Milborne were reinterred with solemn services. This course won Bellomont the favor of the popular party. After a year spent in the province of New York, Bellomont took up his viceregal seat at Boston whence William Kidd was sent to England charged with piracy and the murder of one of his men. The charge of piracy was not sustained but Kidd was convicted of the murder. With nine of his accomplices, he was hanged at London in 1701. After the session of the Massachusetts general court in May, 1700, Bellomont returned to New York where he died on the fifth of March, 1701.

May 26, 1699

Bellomont's Coat of Arms

Partisan Politics

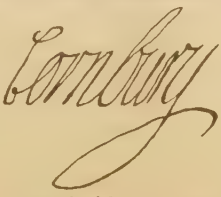
The Leislerians had a majority both in the council and in the assembly. Their proposal of legislation under which suits for damages might be brought by members of the Leisler family developed a fear of a carnival of spoliation. The aristocratic party made a push for power with resultant


Autograph of John Nanfan

riot and almost civil war. But Nanfan, the absent lieutenant-governor, returned just in time to defeat their purpose. One of the aristocratic leaders, Robert Livingston, was declared to be a defaulter and his property was confiscated, while Nicholas Bayard was tried and convicted for treason. There is a story that Bayard secured repeated respites by money payments to the lieutenant-governor, until his children expostulated with him for not consenting to be hanged as the cost of saving him would be, they feared, their pecuniary ruin. 1701 1702

The Incomparable Cornbury

Next in the procession, in 1702, came Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury, profligate and bankrupt, heir to an earldom and cousin to Queen Anne. On public occasions, and sometimes in the street, it is said, he appeared in woman's dress, "a garb most proper to the representative of a queen." So burdened with debts at home that he escaped jail only by quitting the kingdom, his administration was well shaped to support the modern colloquialism — "public office is a private snap." The assembly was dissolved, the Leisler act was annulled, Livingston and Bayard were set free, and the aristocratic party was restored to gubernatorial favor.



Autograph of Lord Cornbury

Pestilence and Plunder

In the summer of Cornbury's coming, the yellow fever also came; more than five hundred died and the queen's cousin sought safety in Long Island retirement. The Presbyterian minister courteously allowed the governor the use of the parsonage; when the fever left New York and Cornbury left Jamaica (Long Island), the parsonage was given to the Episcopalians for a church and the parish lands were leased for its support.

Great Expectations

In 1664, the land that the widow Anneke Jans had brought to Dominie Bogardus was confirmed to her and her heirs. Five of the heirs sold the farm to Governor Lovelace. Later, the property was confiscated by the duke of York and known successively as the duke's farm, the king's farm, and the queen's farm. In 1705, Queen Anne

See map, vol. 2, p. 236

1702–1708 gave the farm to Trinity church, possibly on the suggestion of her cousin Cornbury, for "this precious rake seasoned all his doings with excessive zeal for the established church in general, and the new Trinity church in particular." As one of the sons of Anneke Jans was not a party to the sale to Lovelace, the heirs of this son have long claimed that the sale was not valid.

Cornbury as Governor of New Jersey

In 1702, the New Jersey proprietors surrendered their rights of civil government to the crown and Lord Cornbury received a separate commission as the royal governor of that reunited province. The governor's New Jersey commission was published on the eleventh of August, 1703. As in New York, there was a determined effort to secure a fixed revenue for the crown and, as in New York, the effort resulted chiefly in annual grants specifically appropriated by the assembly.

Religious Liberty Curtailed

By royal instruction, liberty of conscience was provided for all but papists; the legal status of Roman Catholics had not been improved by the Jacobite plottings in England. In 1698, the East Jersey assembly enacted that no Christian should be molested for any religious opinion, but excluded "any of the Romish religion" from any benefit thereunder. In 1700 and 1701, New York passed laws expelling Roman Catholic priests and depriving "papists and popish recusants" of the right to vote, a retrogression from the prescription of the West India company for New Netherland and Peter Stuyvesant.

Cornbury Removed

Cornbury met the rising spirit of the people with arbitrary rule in New York and with insolent contempt in New Jersey. He did not hesitate to remove representatives, dissolve assemblies, and tamper with elections that the new might be more submissive than the old. But the popular party could not be bribed or browbeaten. In 1707, an address of the New Jersey assembly set forth the grievances of the people. Other colonies made similar complaint and, in 1708, Lord Cornbury was removed from office. He did not go home with the expected promptness for, as soon as he ceased to be governor, he was arrested for debt. He remained in jail till, by the death

of his father, he succeeded to the earldom of Clarendon, when he was released by the privilege of rank and went back to England where he died in 1723. 1708 1709

Lord Cornbury's successor, John, Lord Lovelace, landed at New York in December, 1708. He had been qualified for his administrative duties by the discipline of a cornet in the royal horse guards and was a remote relative of the Francis Lovelace who, in 1668, succeeded Richard Nicolls as colonial governor of New York. Within five months of his arrival at New York, Lovelace died. Richard Ingoldesby, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor of New York and New Jersey and now became the acting governor, was not just the one to bring about more harmonious relations between the people and the crown. The Second Lovelace

Autograph of Lord Lovelace

Ingoldesby Again

One of the Four Mohawk Chiefs Taken to England

The long war with Louis XIV. was going on in Europe. As part of a fresh project for invading Canada, Francis Nicholson, with fifteen hundred men from Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, and Colonel Peter Schuyler of Albany with Iroquois allies, marched as far as Lake Champlain. The non-arrival of the British fleet that was to carry a coöperating force from Massachusetts up the Saint Lawrence put an end to the undertaking. The colonial treasury was empty and, for the first time in her history, New York issued paper money. In December, Another Attempt to Invade Canada

1710 1709, Schuyler went to England with four Mohawk chieftains to play upon the imagination of the queen. In London, the distinguished guests aroused great curiosity which Addison turned to literary use in his delightful way. The awakened interest helped to gain men and ships for the expedition that was to be crowned by the capture of Port Royal. Before New England's easy victory was won, Ingoldesby gave way to Governor Robert Hunter.

June

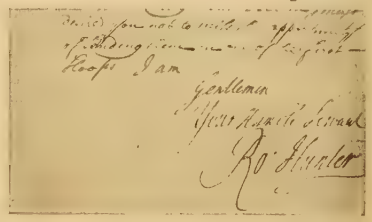
Signatures of the Four Mohawk Chiefs, appearing on a Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury

Cosmopolitan Manhattan

In 1710, New York city had a population of about six thousand, fewer than Boston or Philadelphia. To the English, Dutch, and Huguenots already on Manhattan had lately been added new elements from Ireland, Scotland, and the Rhine provinces — too much for even the wonderful assimilative power that for two centuries has characterized American communities. In the words of Theodore Roosevelt, "no sooner has one set of varying elements been fused together than another stream has been poured into the crucible."

Governor Hunter

Governor Hunter, a Scot by birth, a soldier by training, and the friend of Addison and Swift, proved to be one of the ablest of the royal governors of New York. He soon found himself with little power and no salary, compared himself to Sancho Panza, and wrote: "Here is the finest air to



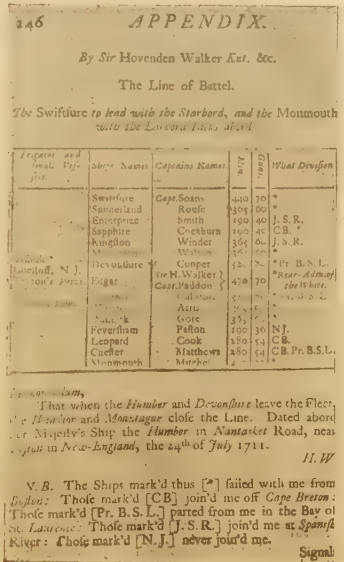
Autograph of Robert Hunter

live upon in the universe; and if our trees and birds could speak, and our assemblymen be silent, the finest conversation also." When the council declared that the assembly, like itself, existed only "by the mere grace of the crown," the lower house agreed that the authority of the council came "from the mere pleasure of the prince," but claimed for themselves an inherent right issuing "not from any commission or grant from the crown but *from the free choice and election of the people* who ought not nor justly can be divested of their property without their consent." 1710 1711

Inherent Rights

The New England conquest of Port Royal had excited emulation and when, for a fresh expedition against Canada, the queen sent a royal fleet under Admiral Hovenden Walker and some of Marlborough's veteran regiments under "Jack Hill" (a brother of Mrs. Masham, the queen's favorite), New York was ready to coöperate. She furnished six hundred soldiers and six hundred Iroquois allies to the colonial contingent that mustered at Albany, thence to march on Montreal. The fleet sailed from Boston to the Saint Lawrence and the New York assembly appropriated ten thousand pounds in paper money for the support of her troops. As will be explained more fully in a later chapter, the incompetence of the admiral brought disaster upon the fleet and the news of its withdrawal checked the advance by land at Lake Champlain. The failure of this attempt against New France was complete and humiliating.

Another Conquest of Canada



246 APPENDIX.

By Sir Hovenden Walker Knt. &c.

The Line of Battel.

The Swiftsure to lead with the Starbord, and the Monmouth with the Larboard Tack, aboard

Frigates and Small Vessels.	Ships Names	Captains Names	Men	Guns	What Division
	Swiftsure	Capt. Soans	440	70	*
	Sunderland	Roufe	300	60	*
	Enterprize	Smith	190	40	J. S. R.
	Sapphire	Crookburn	190	40	C.B. *
	Kingston	Winder	360	60	J. S. R.
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*
Barnstaff, N. J.	Devonshire	Cooper	520	80	* Pr. B. S. L.
	Edgar	Sir H. Walker / Capt. Paddon	470	70	*Rear-Admiral the White.
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	* Pr. B. S. L.
	[illegible]	Acton	[illegible]	[illegible]	*
	[illegible]	Gore	330	60	*
	Feversham	Paston	190	36	N.J.
	Leopard	Cook	280	54	C.B.
	Chester	Matthews	280	54	C.B. Pr. B.S.L.
	Monmouth	Mitchel	[illegible]	[illegible]	*

[illegible] Sir,

That when the *Humber* and *Devonshire* leave the Fleet, the *Humber* and *Montague* close the Line. Dated aboard Her Majesty's Ship the *Humber* in *Nantasket* Road, near Boston in *New-England*, the 24th of *July* 1711. July 30, 1711

H. W

N. B. The Ships mark'd thus [*] sailed with me from *Boston*: Those mark'd [CB] join'd me off *Cape Breton*: Those mark'd [Pr. B. S. L.] parted from me in the Bay of *St. Lawrence*: Those mark'd [J. S. R.] join'd me at *Spanish River*: Those mark'd [N. J.] never join'd me.

Signal

A Page from Sir Hovenden Walker's Journal of his Expedition to Canada

1715 Hunter had written to the English secretary of state to
1719 the effect that the "colonies were infants sucking their mother's breasts" but that they "would weane themselves when they come of age." In 1715, he

Autograph of Lewis Morris

Hunter's Prophecy

appointed Lewis Morris, a wealthy man, to the vacant chief-justiceship because he would be "able to live without salary which they [the assembly] will most certainly never grant to any in that station." In the same year, Hunter found it necessary to disregard his instructions and to make terms with the assembly which had imitated closely the tactics of the English parliament in its treatment of the crowned prince of Orange. In 1719, Hunter left the province and Peter Schuyler, the president of the council and the most prominent New Yorker of that generation, became acting governor.

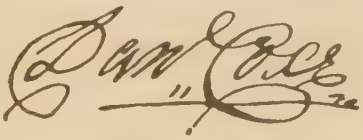
Peter Schuyler

Hunter in New Jersey

June 23, 1712

In New Jersey, Hunter had met with the opposition of the council. He repeatedly prorogued the house and assured the lords of trade that he had done so "it being absolutely needless to meet the assembly so long as the council is so constituted." When, in 1713, Queen Anne authorized the

removal of Daniel Coxe, Peter Sonmans, and two other members of the council, Sonmans stole the public records and carried them to England and Coxe and his party began an agitation against the governor. 1713 1719



Autograph of Daniel Coxe

Hunter Retires

In 1709, an act had been passed "fixing the sessions of assembly in the Jersies at Burlington;" the action intensified the factious opposition. Hunter's New Jersey commission was renewed in 1715 and, in the following year, Hunter reproved the representatives for "their wilful absenting themselves from the service of their country" and told them that he had "judged it absolutely necessary . . . . to require you forthwith to meet as a house of representatives, and to take the usual methods to oblige your fellow members to pay their attendance." A few days later, the assembly expelled Speaker Coxe and such others of the absentees as their sergeant-at-arms could not find. Coxe continued to make trouble, but King George commended the governor and gave him his support until, in 1719, Hunter returned to Europe to seek a restoration of his health.

May 19, 1716

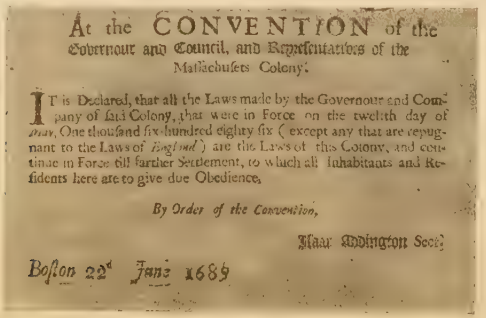
CHAPTER XIX

MASSACHUSETTS UNDER BRADSTREET AND PHIPS

1688
1695

After the Overthrow of Andros

WHEN Andros was ejected from his throne in Boston, the old government, with Simon Bradstreet at its head, was restored to power. The "resuscitated assembly" injected something of the old spirit of independence into the stifled atmosphere, but the Massachusetts charter was gone and the spirit of dogged assertion had largely given way to a professed dependence on the royal will. In 1692, Andros was made governor of Virginia. In a recent chapter, we met Dudley out of jail, serving as chief-justice and one of the king's councilors for New York.


At the CONVENTION of the
Governour and Council, and Representatives of the
Massachusets Colony.

IT is Declared, that all the Laws made by the Governour and Company of said Colony, that were in Force on the twelfth day of May, One thousand five hundred eighty six (except any that are repugnant to the Laws of England) are the Laws of this Colony, and continue in Force till farther Settlement, to which all Inhabitants and Residents here are to give due Obedience.

By Order of the Convention,

Isaac Addington Secr.

Boston 22d June 1689

A Massachusetts Bay Broadside, dated June 22, 1689

Autograph of Richard Mather

The Mather Dynasty

Richard Mather, the founder of a dynasty that long dominated the Puritan hierarchy, had a son Increase. In 1664, Increase Mather was ordained pastor of the North church of Boston. He held his pastorate until his death—a term of nearly sixty years;

for a part of this time, his son Cotton was his colleague. In 1685, he became president of Harvard college. In 1688, Massachusetts sent him to England to join Sir Henry Ashurst, a member of parliament and agent of the colony. Mather and Ashurst were soon reinforced by Elisha Cooke and Thomas Oakes. It was hoped that the influence of the four might secure a restitution of the charter. 1688 1690

Isaac Addington
(Long time secretary of Massachusetts Bay)

New England Charters

The Pilgrim plantation sent Ichabod Wiswall, the Duxbury minister, to England, but the colony fared hard and her fate was fashioned against her will. The southern New England colonies had saved their charters and, with them, some of their rights thereunder. New Hampshire, weak in her isolation, sought the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and was annexed in March, 1690. Two years later, this second union was broken, New Hampshire's provincial government being reëstablished in form much like that of 1680. Maine was also merged in Massachusetts.

Frontenac

To punish the English and to restore French prestige, Frontenac sent out from Canada three expeditions. First came the massacre at Schenectady, the farthest outpost of the English in New York. A few weeks later, the second blow was struck at Salmon Falls on the Maine and New Hampshire border. The third fell at Fort Loyal where Portland is and, like the others, was followed by murder and rapine. Between New England and Acadia was a line of blood and fire. The French claimed that Acadia's western border was

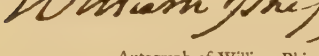
1690

Map of New England

the Kennebec, beyond the English fort of Pemaquid. On the other hand, the English claimed that Maine extended eastward to the Saint Croix. The picturesque figure of this region in this period was the brave but lawless wood-ranger, Baron Saint Castine, who, at Fort Pentagoët, kept the gates of Acadia against the encroachments of New England.

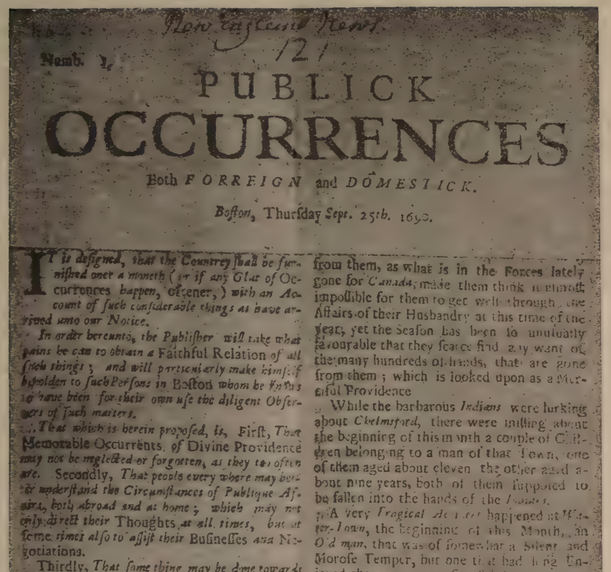
Sir William Phips

In Maine, in 1651, was born William Phips, one of his mother's twenty-six children of whom twenty were his brothers. After serving as a shepherd and as a ship-carpenter, he went to Boston where he wooed and won a widow and her wealth and learned to read and write. In 1687, he recovered a great wealth of Spanish treasure from the bottom of the West Indian sea; his share was sixteen thousand pounds. In 1688, he returned to Boston as Sir William Phips and high sheriff of New England. In 1690, Governor Bradstreet appointed him to lead an expedition against Port Royal. The fort was captured, the town was plundered, and the whole of Acadia was reduced to English



Autograph of William Phips

May



New-England Memorial.

Numb. 1.

PUBLICK OCCURRENCES

Both *FORREIGN* and *DOMESTICK.*

Boston, Thursday *Sept.* 25*th.* 1690.

IT is designed, *that the Country shall be furnished once a moneth (or if any Glut of Occurrences happen, oftener,) with an Account of such considerable things as have arrived unto our Notice.*

In order hereunto, the Publisher will take what pains he can to obtain a Faithful Relation of all such things; and will particularly make himself beholden to such Persons in Boston whom he finds to have been for their own use the diligent Observers of such matters.

That which is herein proposed, is, First, *That Memorable Occurrents of Divine Providence may not be neglected or forgotten, as they too often are.* Secondly, *That people every where may better understand the Circumstances of Publique Affairs, both abroad and at home; which may not only direct their Thoughts at all times, but at some times also to assist their Businesses and Negotiations.*

Thirdly, *That some thing may be done towards the Curing, or at least the* Charming *of that Spirit of Lying, which prevails amongst us, wherefore nothing shall be uttered, but what we have reason to believe is true, repairing to the best fountains for our Information. And when there appears any material mistake in any thing that is collected, it shall be corrected in the next.*

Moreover, the Publisher of these Occurrences *is willing to engage, that whereas, there are many* False Reports, *maliciously made, and spread among us, if any well-minded person will be at the pains to trace any such* false Report *so far as to find out and Convict the* First Raiser *of it, he will in this Paper (unless just Advice be given to the contrary) expose the Name of such person, as* A malicious Raiser of a false Report. *It is Supposed that none will dislike this Proposal, but such as intend to be guilty of so villanous a Crime.*

THE Christianized *Indians* in some parts of *Plimouth*, have newly appointed a day of Thanksgiving to God for his Mercy in supplying their extream and pinching Necessities under their late want of Corn, & for His giving them now a prospect of a very *Comfortable Harvest*. Their Example may be worth Mentioning.

'Tis observed by the Husbandmen, that altho' the With-draw of so great a strength from them, as what is in the Forces lately gone for *Canada*, make them think it much impossible for them to get well through the Affairs of their Husbandry at this time of the year; yet the season has been so unusually favourable that they scarce find any want of the many hundreds of hands, that are gone from them; which is looked upon as a Merciful Providence

While the barbarous *Indians* were lurking about *Chelmsford*, there were missing about the beginning of this month a couple of Children belonging to a man of that Town, one of them aged about eleven the other aged about nine years, both of them supposed to be fallen into the hands of the *Indians*.

A very *Tragical Accident* happened at *Water-Town*, the beginning of this Month, in *Old man*, that was of somewhat a Silent and Morose Temper, but one that had long Enjoyed the reputation of a *Sober* and a *Grave Man*, having newly buried his Wife, the Devil took advantage of the Melancholy which he thereupon fell into, his Wives correction and induſtr, had long been the support of his Family, and he seemed buried with an impertinent fear that he should now come to want before he died, though he had very careful friends to look after him who kept a strict eye upon him, least he should do himself any harm. But one evening escaping from them into the Cow-house, they there quickly followed him found him *hanging by a Rope*, which they had used to tye their *Calves* withal, he was dead with his feet near touching the Ground.

Epidemical *Fevers* and *Agues* grow very common, in some parts of the Country, whereof, tho' many dye not yet they are forely afflicted for their imployments; but in some parts a more *malignant Fever* seems to prevail in such sort that it usually goes thro a Family where it comes, and proves *Mortal* unto many.

The *Smallpox* which has been raging in *Boston*, after a manner very Extraordinary is now very much abated. It is thought that far more have been sick of it than were discovered with it, when it raged so much twelve years ago, nevertheless it has not been so Mortal, The number of them that have dyed in *Boston* by this last Visitation is about *three hundred and fifty*, which is not perhaps half so many as fell by the former. The Time of its being most *General*, was in the Months *June*, *July*, and *August*, then 'twas that sometimes in some one Congregation on a Lords day there would be Bills desiring Prayers for above an *hundred Sick*. It seized upon all sorts of people that came in the way of it, it infected even *Children in the Wombs of Mothers that had themselves undergone the Distemper many ages* before; for some such were now born sick of the Distemper. 'Tis not easy to relate the Trouble and Sorrow that poor *Boston* has felt by this *Exceeding Calamity*. But we hope it will be pretty nigh Extinguished, by that time twelve moneth when it first began to spread. It now unhappily spreads in several other places, among which our Garrisons in the *East* are to be reckoned some of the greatest Sufferers.

Alna' was did a few weeks ago, meet with a Disaster by *Fire*, which consumed about eighteen *Houses* near the *Meeting-House*, but about eighteen hours after the Fire, between the Exercises of the Lords day, seventeenth of this Instant, *another Fire* broke forth near the *South-Meeting-House*, which destroyed about five or six Houses and almost covered the Meeting-house it self, one of the finest Edifices in the Country. If God had not remarkably assisted the Endeavours of the People to put out the Fire. There were two more considerable Circumstances in the Calamities of this Fire, one was that a young man belonging to the House where the fire began, unhappily perished in the Flames; it seems that the fire might have awaked him as some others who did escape, yet he same way, left their Wives and Children, and fled for their own Lives. Another was that the best furniture (RUNNING-GOODS) of those few that we know of in *America*, was lost; a loss not generally to be repaired.

There lately arrived at *Hingham*, one *Ingram* from *Pemaquid*, in a small Shallop, wherein he had hired to attend upon the pleasure of *Captain*, but took his opportunity to run away, and reports: That a Vessel of a small Burthen bound from *Bristol* to *Virginia*, having been long at Sea, till they were forc'd with want, put in at *Pemaquid* instead of *Piscataqua*, where the *Indians* and *French* seized her, and Butchered the Master, and several of the men: as they himself who belonged unto the Ships Crew, being a *Lusty man*, was long for a horrible while, & sought to contrive means to make his Escape.

The chief discourse of this month has been about the affairs of the Western Expedition against *Canada*. The *Governours* from *New-York* and the *Jerseys*, with the *Sachems* of *Indians* in the *Five Nations* of *Iroquois*, in the Interest of the *English*, had been treating at the *Maquas* Country, to make an Expedition by Sea into *Canada*: and all made so sensible, that they might not be disappointed, we ordained *Quebeck*, they would pass the *Lake*, and by Land make a Descent upon Mount *Real*. Accordingly this Colony with some assistance from our kind Neighbours of *Plimouth*; fitted out an Army of near *five and twenty hundred men*, and a Navy of two and thirty Sail; which went from hence the beginning of the last *August*, under the Command of the Honourable Sir *William Phips*.

In the mean time the *English* Colonies & Provinces in the West raised Forces, the Numbers whereof have been reported five or six hundred. The Honourable General *Winthrop* was in the Head of these, and advanced within a few miles of the *Lake*; Sir there had some good Number of *Maquas* to joyn his Forces, but contrary to the Expectation, it was found that the Canoo's to have been ready for the Transportation of the Army, over the *Lake*, were not prepared, and the other Nations of Indians, that should have come to this *Campaign*, but their Excuses, pretending that the small-pox was among them, and some other Trifles. The General Meeting with long tearing disappointments called a Council of War, wherein it was agreed, That it was impossible for them to proceed any further upon the intended Expedition. Hereon he dispatched away the *Advice* to the *French Territories*, who received with some Surprize, having their Vessels of War Sunk, and thereby Blocked Several Harbours, whom they filled in a manner too barbarous for any *English* to approve. The General coming back to *Albany*, there happened a misunderstanding between him and the Lieutenant Governour of *New-York*, which occasioned much Dissention, but proceeded not those Extremities which were feared of it. Where in the nature of these differences is variously conceived, if any people further West than *Albany* have been Tampering with the Treasons made of the late Is of *Canada*, we hope time will discover it. And if Almighty God will have *Canada* to be subdu'd without the Assistance of their miserable neighbours, in whom we have too much confided, we shall be glad. But there will be no Sacrifice offered up to the Devil, upon this occasion of God alone will have all the Glory.

'Tis possible, we have not so exactly related the Circumstances of this Business, but this Account, is as clear and Orderly, as any that could be had, in the Absence of many various reports about it.

Another late matter of discourse, has been an unaccountable destruction befalling a body of *Indians*, that were our Enemies. This body of *French Indians* had a Fort somewhere far up the River, and a party of *Mohawk's* returning from the *East Country*, where they purchase at a great rate pursued and terrified these *Indians* whom he had been treating of our *Northern Plantations*, and killed them. General *Hart* lived among the *Mohawks* to visit this Fort; but they found the Fort ruined, the Canoo's cut to pieces, and the people all either Butchered or Captived. This gave them no little surprize, and they give the *English* this account of it. That a body of *Maquas* lately returning from the Spoil of *Canada*: brought several *French Prisoners* with them: That *Indians*, at this Fort in their way, the *Indians* there seeing themselves unable to resist them did pass divers Complements with them and partake of their Booties, That a *French* Captive after his escaping from the *Maquas* informed the *French* that these *Indians* had complied unto the *Maquas*, and hereupon the *French* or their *Indians* made a Sudden Sally forth upon them, and utterly destroyed them, that they were in reality of their own party still.

Two *English Captives* escaped from the hands of the *Indians* and *French* at *Penobscot*, came into *Portsmouth* on the Sixteenth Instant & say, That when Capt. *Alden* was at *Port Royal*, he met the Canoes, and ripped the bellies of two *Indians*, and threw another Child aboard in the sight of the *French*, who informing the other *Indians* of it, they have in revenge barbarously butcher'd forty Captives of ours that were in their hands.

These two Captives escaped in a Shallop, which our Enemies intended to have fet out with all the Circumstances of a Fishing Shallop, but to have taken, and it with *Indians* that should have Clapt on board any *English* Vessel that came in their way; Tuesday last about three or four weeks ago, some *Indians* were coming this way to War, but reaching a path which they supposed to be of the *Westerns*, they followed it until they discovered a place where some Canoo's were making, whereupon twenty *Penobscot Indian* Warriors went to look further after the business, who never yet returned. Which gives hope that they may come short home but report that the *Sconers* are here to *Penobscot*, and the men stand on their Defence.

Portsmouth Sept. 20. 90. Two days since arrived here a small Vessel from *Barbadoes*, in which is a Letter to Captain *H. K.* of this *Place* that speaks thus,

Antigua, is small, taken from the *French*, as is a small Island called *Saints*; we are very strong in Shipping, and our Ships of War are now gone for *Tobago*, a very good place to shelter from any Storms, over the dangerous mouths of over; they will Attack the rest of the *French* places. We have News here that *K. William* is safe arrived in *England*, and is marched with *one hundred and forty thousand Foot and Horse*. *Flying Seal the Earle*, Duke *Scombergh* the right Wing and the Earl of *Oxford* the left Wing, Duke *Hamilton* of *Scotland* leads the forlorn Hope with *ten thousand men* under him. Great Victory they Gain'd have, and much people da[illegible] to come to him, with [illegible] the late [illegible] 200 Shipping with him of one sort or other, above one hundred Sail daily run between *Ireland* and *England*, with men for Man and Beast; his Majesty being unwilling to trust *Scotland* for it. *Ireland* is in much trouble (and fear; not only with us but also with his Son, who has revolted against him lately, and has great reason,) if reports be true, that the *Father used to live with the Sons Wife*. He has got all the *Huguenots*, and all the disaffected Papists, with the great force of the *D. of Lorrain*, and are now against him, resolving to depose him of his life and Kingdom.

It's Reported the City of *Cork* in *Ireland*, has proclaimed *K. William*, and turned their *French* Landlords out of Doors; of this there wants further Confirmation.

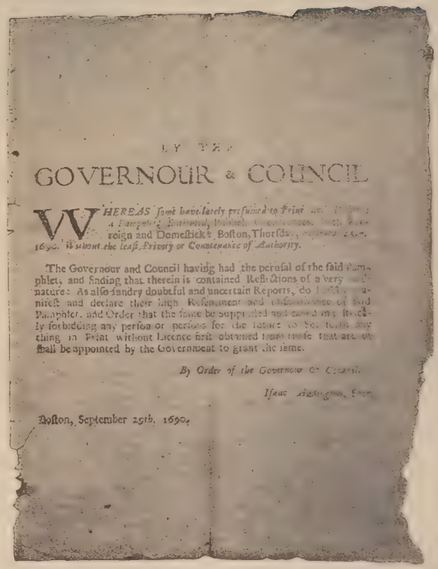
From *Plimouth* Sept. 22. We have an Account that on *Friday* the 12th Instant in the night, our Forces Landing privately, forthwith surrounded by water here; but finding no Indians there they Marched to *Sconsset*. There on the Lords day, they killed and took [illegible] of the Enemy, and recovered [illegible] belonging to *Capt. Sill*, [illegible] the men had been [illegible] to a River, to which [illegible] the *French Indians* where they [illegible] to make up a body of [illegible] against *Pemaquid*.

On *Friday*, the Army came to our Vessels at *Menamet*, but one of the Vessels touching a Ground forced a Tide, by which means, [illegible] *Wednesday* was a considerable distance [illegible] Forces, being [illegible] an Indian [illegible] away from [illegible] the Army, was there [illegible] Landing, but came down to the Sconset, all in the same [illegible].

[illegible] they landed at *Sconset*, a scout of [illegible] discovered a party of the Enemy, and [illegible] the Advantage of killing three of them, [illegible] *Indian Captives*, and an English [illegible] *Thomas Lord*, who informed that the Enemy had left a Confederate Place at *Pemaquid* Plains, which he supposed the Enemy was gone to secure. Whereupon the Army immediately encamped, and arriving there [illegible] night, the next morning found the Enemy [illegible] accordingly.

While our Vessels where at Anchor in *Casco-Bay*, our Auxiliary Indians lodging on shore, and being too carelesly in their Watch, the Enemy made an Attaque upon them. The *English* fled with respect to their Relief that were forely galled, by an Ambuscado of Indians, the Enemy soon quitted the Field, escaping with their Canoo's, whereof ours took several. In the Surprize we lost 9 men, and had about 20 wounded; three brave chiefs fell on our dear *Friends*, the *Plimouth Forces*, by being Killed and wounded of Captain *Southworth's* Company.

Printed by B. Harris, *for* Benj. Harris, *at the London-Coffee-House*, 1690.



BY THE

GOVERNOUR & COUNCIL

WHEREAS *sundry persons have lately presumed to Print and Publish a Pamphlet, Entituled,* [illegible] reign and Domedtick, Boston, Thursday, [illegible] 1690. *Without the least Privity or Countenance of Authority.*

The Governour and Council having had the perusal of the said Pamphlet, and finding that therein is contained Reflections of a very high nature: As also sundry doubtful and uncertain Reports, do Judge meet, hereby to disallow, disprove and declare their high Resentment and disallowance of said Pamphlet, and Order that the same be suppressed and called in, and strictly forbidding any person or persons for the future to Print, Sell or Disperse any thing in Print without Licence first obtained from those that are or shall be appointed by the Government to grant the same.

By Order of the Governour & Council.

Isaac Addington, Secr.

Boston, September 25th. 1690.

ORDER OF THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY TO SUPPRESS "PUBLICK OCCURRENCES"

FACSIMILE OF THE "PUBLICK OCCURRENCES"

(The only known copy is now in the Public Record Office, London)

rule. It is said that the booty carried off was sufficient to defray the cost of the expedition. 1690

It was planned that while the Winthrop expedition, already mentioned, was advancing on Montreal by land, a naval expedition under Sir William Phips and Major Another Attempt to Conquer Canada

Moll's Map of Port Royal, 1720

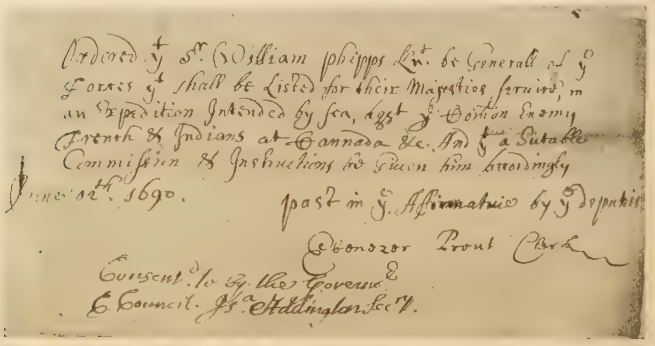
John Walley was to ascend the Saint Lawrence and take Quebec. The New England saints thought it sin to doubt that God would give his chosen people the victory over papists and idolaters. The colonial treasuries were empty, England was deaf, and money had to be borrowed. With twenty-two hundred men, thirty-two ships, and a scant supply of ammunition, the bluff adventurer sailed out of Boston harbor on the ninth of August, 1690. The universal anxiety and eagerness for information led to the publication of a little sheet called "Publick Occurrences." The single issue of this first American newspaper was dated September 25, 1690. The proposed monthly, four-page magazine was promptly suppressed.

Autograph of John Walley

An American Newspaper

After a protracted voyage, Phips beheld the warlike rock over which the white banner, spangled with *fleurs-* Phips at Quebec

1690 *de-lis*, flaunted defiance in the clear autumnal air. Concerning the details of this attempt to take Quebec, little need be said; the attack was clumsy and the repulse decisive. After a singularly innocent cannonade, the fleet was withdrawn considerably the worse for wear. For


Ordered y^t S^r William phipps Knt. be Generall of y^e Forces y^t shall be Listed for their Majesties service, in an Expedition Intended by sea, Against y^e Boston Enemy French & Indians at Cannada &c. And y^t a Suitable Commission & Instructions be Drawn him Accordingly June 22^d 1690.

past in y^e Affirmative by y^e Depu^ties

Edw Rawson Prout Clerk

Consent'd to by the Governo^r & Council. Js Addington Sec^y.

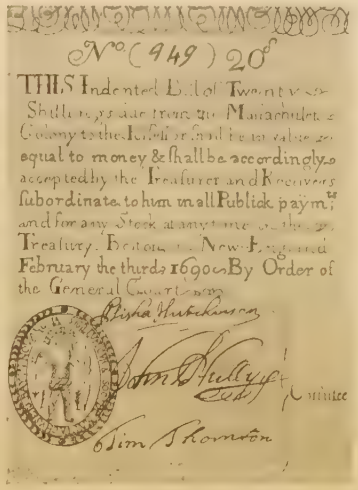
Order of the Council, appointing Phips as General of the Canada (Quebec) Expedition

several months, ships were straggling back to Boston, some never getting there at all. This colonial bravado

Lahontan's Map of Quebec, 1703

cost Massachusetts fifty thousand pounds and, for the first time in the history of the colony, the printing-press was called upon to aid the tax-gatherer in his work. In 1691, Phips went to England to seek help for a fresh attempt to conquer Canada.

In England, Increase Mather skilfully trimmed sail on the accession of William and Mary. He soon saw that the new king would not sacrifice his prerogative and that there was a strong opposition to the restoration of the vacated charter. Either because it was the best thing attainable or because he hoped that under a new deal he would be better able to direct affairs at home, Mather favored a new charter; Cooke would hear of nothing but the old. Oakes was in sympathy with Cooke but finally joined Mather and Ashurst in a petition for a new charter. 1690 1691 The Massachusetts Agents



Massachusetts Indented Bill of Twenty Shillings, 1690

A new charter was issued, dated on the seventh of October, 1691. In the language of this document, it was the royal order "that the territories and colonies commonly called or known by the names of the colony of Massachusetts Bay and colony of New Plymouth, the province of Maine, the territory called Acadia or Nova Scotia, and all that tract of land lying between the said territories of Nova Scotia and the said province of Maine, be erected . . . into one real province by the name of our province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." Thus was Plymouth swallowed up in Massachusetts Bay. Thus did the "colony" become "our province." Thus was the northern boundary of the province pushed to the Saint Lawrence. The Colony Becomes the Province

While Mather was bringing this about, Phips arrived in London. Mather had been given the spoils of patronage and probably made sure that his old parishioner Governor Phips

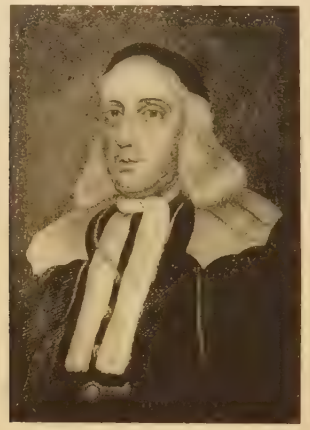
1692 would be subservient to his will. Thus it came to pass that Sir William became Governor Phips; William Stoughton, "a rich and atrabilarious bachelor," was named as deputy-governor. The appointment of the new governor became known at Boston in January, 1692, and Phips and Mather arrived in the following May.

Theocracy and Emancipation

The council consisted of twenty-eight assistants — every one of them a friend of the conservative church party. The general court was to consist of the governor, the council, and the deputies, the latter to be elected "by the major part of the freeholders and other inhabitants." Church membership ceased to be required of electors and liberty of conscience was "allowed in the worship of God to all Christians (except Papists)." The direct temporal power of the Puritan theocracy had passed away; the "emancipation of Massachusetts" had come.

The Power of the Purse

Phips began his rule with a personal popularity that was greatly to his advantage, but when he called the attention of the general court to the suggestion of the king that the governor's salary be fixed by law, Elisha Cooke proposed the familiar plan of an annual grant which might be made more or less as the people wished to coax or force, to reward or punish a governor in whose selection they had no voice. Cooke's suggestion was adopted by the legislature. Although the people seem to have accepted the new charter in a rather meek and quiet spirit, they held the purse and did not hesitate to use the power that it conferred.



Wm Stoughton.

Witches

In the thirteenth century, it was authoritatively proclaimed that as God has his human servants, so the

devil has his. He can appear to men and women under what form he pleases, can deceive them, seduce them, enter into compact with them, make them his allies for the ruin of mankind. These human allies of Satan, thus postulated into existence, are they whom modern history knows as witches. Then came a rapidly growing literature with the Bible as its corner-stone. The story of Christ's temptation in the wilderness was made to set a divine seal upon the most startling theories, and the terrible verdict of the Mosaic code, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," added to the horrors of the fast-falling frenzy. In Christian Europe, witches were soon burned by thousands; it is not certain that all paganism together was ever guilty of so many human sacrifices in the same length of time. 1692

An European Frenzy

In England under Cromwell and the Long Parliament there were three thousand legal executions and witches were burned in Scotland as late as 1722. The astronomer Kepler, the philosopher Bacon, Richard Baxter whose "Saints' Rest" has soothed so many souls, and even Martin Luther were of this way of thinking. The writings of the Elizabethan dramatists show the universality of English belief in witches. It was no new thing in the seventeenth century to attribute certain mysterious phenomena to demoniac agency; the common notion that witchcraft was a peculiar New England institution has no foundation in fact.

Common Belief in Witchcraft

The seeds of superstition, thus imported from the Old World, found a congenial soil in the New. Vivifying puritanism made Puritans the special objects of demoniac wrath. Between 1648 and 1655, there were in Massachusetts half a dozen executions for witchcraft and, in 1692, a few girls at Salem began to practise certain mystifying acts that attracted parental attention. When fervent prayers did not avail, the consulting clergy agreed that the "afflicted children" were under the influence of the Devil. Under importunity, the girls gave the names of the tormenting witches, and warrants were issued for Sarah Good, Sarah Osborne, and an

The Tragedy Begins

February 29

1692 Indian woman, Tituba. Then the mischief ceased and the misery began.

The Court

Under the influence of the Mathers, Governor Phips instituted a special court presided over by William Stoughton. The defendants were unlovely and unloved—safe targets for the shafts of the frenzied populace. The complainants were men of influence and some of the

The Accused

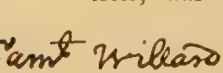
ministers fanned the flame to fury. For instance, when Rebecca Nurse, an exemplary matron of threescore years and ten, was brought to trial as a witch, thirty-nine persons of high respectability testified to her blameless life. In spite of the prevailing excitement, the verdict was "not guilty." This did not please the clamorous mob any more than did the judgment of Pilate. Trampling reason under foot in their fury, the people so intimidated judges and jurors that the verdict was withdrawn and Rebecca Nurse was condemned to die. Not content with this, the Salem minister excommunicated her and thus sealed her eternal doom.

The Storm

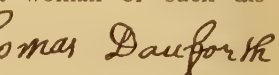
Of those who confessed, not one was hung; of those who would not confess, every one was hung. With multiplied accusations, confessions increased; from these confessions came more accusations. Taking the record as it stands, the frivolity of the accepted proof awakens pity and indignation. There seemed to be a general belief that the promise, "Seek and ye shall find," had a special application to witches as well as to salvation. In that one year, death came to two in prison, nineteen were hanged, and Giles Cory was pressed to death. The bodies were denied Christian burial and huddled into holes among the rocks of what has since been known as "Gallows Hill."

The Calm

In October, Mrs. Hale, the wife of the Beverly minister, was accused. She was a woman of such distinguished virtues that the community was convinced that her accusers had perjured themselves. Several persons of especial prominence were suspected and it is said that



Autograph of Samuel Willard



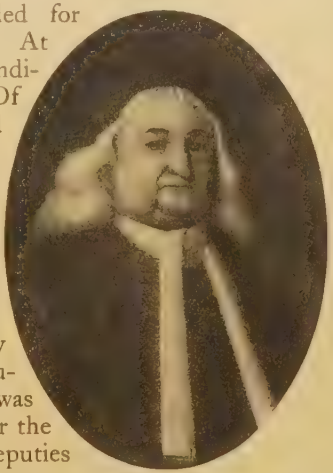
Autograph of Thomas Danforth

Map of Salem Village, 1692

A. Jonathan Corwin.
B. Samuel Shattock, John Cook, Isaac Sterns, John Bly.
C. Bartholomew Gedney.
D. Stephen Sewall.
E. Court-house.
F. Rev. Nicholas Noyes.
G. John Hathorne.
H. George Corwin, High-sheriff.
I. Bridget Bishop.
J. Meeting-house.
K. Gedney's Ship-tavern.
L. The Prison.
M. Samuel Beadle.
N. Rev. John Higginson.
O. Ann Pudeator, John Best.
P. Capt. John Higginson.
Q. The Town Common.
R. John Robinson.
S. Christopher Babbage.
T. Thomas Beadle.
U. Philip English.

even Lady Phips trembled under the dreaded accusation. Samuel Willard, Thomas Danforth, Richard Calef, and other heroes resisted the frenzy, a reaction was begun, the delusion was dispelled, the wild storm became a calm. Governor Phips ordered that the special court should try no more witchcraft cases, the king annulled the witchcraft act, the condemned were pardoned, the imprisoned were set free. 1692 1695

The events of the war with the French and their Indian allies also tended to divert attention from political affairs. On one day, Boston heard of Frontenac's invasion of New York and, on another, of Castine's capture of the fort at Pemaquid. In March, 1697, the Indians made an attack on Haverhill, New Hampshire. With other captives, Hannah Dustin was hurried to an Indian camp on an island in the Merrimac, near Concord. Her home had been burned; her new-born babe had been dashed to death against a tree. Well schooled for bloody work, she planned escape. At night there were twelve sleeping Indians and three sleepless captives. Of the twelve, ten were quickly killed and another wounded. A few moments later a bark canoe was bearing three fugitives and ten bloody scalps down the river. The escape was made good, the land was filled with wonder at woman's work, and "good people rejoiced and shivered." The Border War. Hannah Dustin.

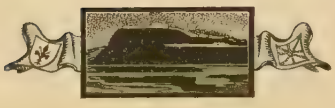


Samuel Sewall.

Phips was popular in the country where he was not known and unpopular in Boston where he was known. It was a common and economical practice for the Massachusetts towns to choose their deputies from the citizens of the metropolis. When Phips's friends tried to force through the assembly an address in his behalf, the united action of the deputies who lived in Boston resulted in the defeat of the petition. Phips's Death.

1694 1695 Through the influence of the Mathers and Phips's other friends, and appeals to the local pride of the country, a bill requiring deputies to be residents of the towns for which they sat became a law. In an assembly thus constituted, the address secured a bare majority. When, in 1694, the governor was called to England to answer in his own behalf, he took the address with him. Pending the investigation, Phips died of malignant fever, the end of a picturesque career.

February 18, 1694-5



CHAPTER XX

MASSACHUSETTS UNDER STOUGHTON, BELLOMONT, AND DUDLEY

1695 1715 Indian War and General Gloom

ALTHOUGH Dudley intrigued for the governorship, Lieutenant-governor Stoughton remained at the head of the province until 1699. Restrictions upon colonial trade were made more efficient. The witchcraft trials and a pamphlet war had added wormwood to the gall of party strife. French bees were buzzing off the coast and Frontenac pushed the Indians upon the frontier towns. Powder was so scarce that, when the aged Bradstreet died, the honor of mourning guns could not be paid. Although the period was one of Indian war and general gloom it was one of domestic quiet. Stoughton was not popular but he was doing very well.

March 27, 1697

Bellomont in Massachusetts

In December, 1697, the peace of Ryswick was proclaimed at Boston. In April, 1698, the earl of Bellomont, the new royal governor of New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, arrived at New York and communicated with the Massachusetts council. In the following year, he appeared at Boston, "the first live lord who had ever governed the independent little province — and the last."

May, 1699

A More Liberal Theology

The new charter had swept away the temporal power of the clergy who were next challenged by the entrance of religious toleration into their established church. An open defection gave birth to a liberal Congregational organization known as the Brattle or the Manifesto church — the second step in the overthrow of the theoc-

1700 racy. Flags were floated from the castle on the Lord's
1701 Day. When mourning guns were fired for the death of Governor Bellomont, Colonel Townshend wore a wig and, when Queen Anne was proclaimed in 1702, the deputies marched before the ministers in the procession!

Coat of Arms of John Leverett

In 1685, the members of the old theocratic school had set their ablest man on guard as president of Harvard. For several years, the general court tried to get Mather to live at Cambridge. By itself, the presidency of Harvard was a place of high honor, poverty, and self-denial; Increase Mather was not inclined to give up his congregation. In 1701, the general court made Samuel Willard vice-president of Harvard and gave him "oversight of the college." When, in 1708, John Leverett, grandson of the colonial governor of the same name, became president, Harvard was held to have fallen away from orthodoxy and the old school rallied about Yale as their chosen standard.

Harvard College

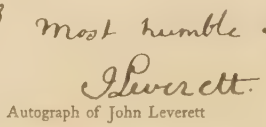
Bellomont returned to New York in 1700, leaving Stoughton in charge at Boston. He died in March, 1701, and Stoughton in the following July. The executive power of Massachusetts was thus left in the hands of the provincial council. The death of Bellomont revived old hope and inspired fresh activity in Joseph Dudley who secured the appointment as governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. King

Death of Bellomont

Seal of Harvard College

Governor Dudley

William soon died but Queen Anne promptly confirmed the appointment. The news of the king's death arrived in Boston at the end of May and, a fortnight later, Governor Dudley was welcomed with artillery and escorted ceremoniously by the men who had imprisoned him in 1689. 1702 1704 June 11, 1702


Autograph of John Leverett

Dudley demanded a stated salary and the deputies gave him instead a present of five hundred pounds, just half as much as they had given Bellomont. He urged the rebuilding of the fort at Pemaquid; the deputies were willing that Maine should be secured for the crown at the crown's expense and beyond this Dudley could not push them. Dudley and the Deputies

Joseph Dudley

In June, 1703, Governor Dudley met the chiefs of the eastern bands in council at Casco and received their assurance that they were "firm as mountains." In August, these allies made a combined attack on the English settlements from Casco to Wells. In early 1704, each succeeding month showed the southward progress of fire, blood, and terror. The January story was from Berwick, Maine; February brought sad news from Haverhill, New Hampshire; in March, Hertel de Rouville, with three hundred French and Indians who had come from Canada by the Connecticut valley, surprised Deerfield, Massachusetts, killed fifty and carried off to Canada a hundred more. A like fate awaited Lancaster. A Progressive Panic

In reprisal for the attack on Deerfield, Governor

1704 Colonel Church and the Eastern Indians

Dudley sent Colonel Benjamin Church, with five or six hundred men, to the eastern frontier. With a part of his force, Church sailed up the Bay of Fundy, ravaged the village of Grand Pré, and sailed back to Boston. Church's exploits in the King Philip war had not been forgotten, but this costly expedition fell below public expectation and the commander was accused of barbarous cruelty. The exasperated heathen so well knew when to strike and how to run, that it was computed that each Indian slain cost a thousand pounds. It was public thrift to buy the scalp of an Indian adult or that of an Indian child over ten years of age—the price that Massachusetts bid varied from year to year. In this year, the first regular newspaper in America began its career and Timothy Green printed an abstract of the provincial laws under the title of *A Faithful Monitor*.

Joseph Dudley's Coat of Arms

Episcopacy in Massachusetts

To Boston's three Congregational churches, a Baptist church had been added in 1665. The only English "Church" in the province had to contend against great obstacles and, at the coming of Lord Bellomont, was slowly recovering from the disrepute caused by its connection with the Andros usurpation. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, formed in England in the days of the commonwealth, had fed the Congregational churches in the colony where, for a long time, there were no others. In 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was formed in England under Episcopal control and in the interests of the church of England in America. To most of the New England clergy religion continued to mean the Puritan church but, about 1722, Timothy Cutler, the

N. E. Numb. 1.

The Boston News-Letter.

Published by Authority.

From Monday April 17. to Monday April 24. 1704.

London Flying-Post from Decemb. 30 to 2d. 1703.

Letters from *Scotland* bring us the Copy of a Sheet lately Printed there, Intituled, *Jealousies, Alarm for Scotland. In a Letter from a Gentleman in the City, to his Friend in the Country, concerning the present Danger of the Kingdom and of the Protestant Religion.*

This Letter takes Notice, That Papists swarm in that Nation, that they trudge more avowedly than formerly, and that of late many Scores of Priests & Jesuites are come thither from France, and gone to the North, to the Highlands & other Parts of the Country. That the Numbers of the Highlands of North give us large Lists of them to the Committee of the General Assembly, to be laid before the Privy Council.

It takes to observe, that a great Number of those ill-affected Persons are come over from *France*, under pretence of accepting her Majesty's Gracious Indemnity, but hypocrisy, to increase Divisions in the Nation, and to entertain a Correspondence with *France*. That their ill Intentions are evident from their talking big, their owning the Interest of the pretended King *James* VIII. their Healths Drunk, and their buying up of Arms and Ammunition, wherever they can find them.

To this he adds, the late Writings and Actions of some ill-affected persons, many of whom are for that Pretender, that several of them have declar'd they had rather embrace Popery than conform to the present Government, that they refuse to pray for the Queen, but use abominable words of Sovereign, and Name of things only in general Words for the King and Royal Family; and the charitable and generous Prince who has shewn them so much Kindness. He likewise takes notice of Letters not long ago found in Cypher, & directed to a Person lately come thither from St. *Germains*.

He says that the greatest Jacobites, who will not subscribe themselves by taking the Oaths to Her Majesty, do now with the Papists and their Compass as from St *Germains* set up for the Liberty of the Subject, contrary to their own Principles, but meerly to keep up a Division in the Nation. He adds, that they aggravate those things which the People complain of, as to *England's* refusing to allow them a freedom of Trade, &c. and do all they can to foment Divisions between the Nations, & to obstruct a Redress of those things complained of.

The Jacobites, he says, do all they can to perswade the Nation that their pretended King is a Protestant in his Heart, tho' he does not declare it, while under the Power of *France*, that he is acquainted with the Mistakes of his Father's Government, will govern us more according to Law, and endear himself to his Subjects.

They magnifie the Strength of their own Party, and the Weakness and Divisions of the other, in order to facilitate and hasten their Undertaking; they argue themselves out of their Fears, and into the highest assurance of accomplishing their purpose.

From all this he infers, That they have hopes of Assistance from *France*, otherwise they would not be so confident, and he gives Reasons for his Apprehensions that the *French* King may send Troops thither this Winter, 1. Because the *English* Fleet will not then be at Sea, to oppose them. 2. He can then best spare them, the Season of Action beyond Sea being over. 3. The Expectation given him of a considerable number to joyn them, may incourage him to the undertaking with fewer Men: If he can but send over a sufficient number of Officers with Arms and Ammunition.

He endeavours in the rest of his Letter to answer the foolish Pretences of the Pretender's being a Protestant and that he will govern us according to Law. He says, that being bred up in the Religion and Principles of *France* he is by Education a Rooted Papist to our Laws and Religion. That the Obligations which he and his Family owe to the *French* King must necessarily make him to be wholly at his Devotion, and to follow his Example; that if he sit upon the Throne of these Realms he must be oblig'd to pay the Debt which he owes the *French* King for the Education of himself and his Family, and for Entertaining and supporting the Father and his Family. As to the King's not restoring him by his Troops, if ever he be restored, he will see to secure his own Interest before their leaving *Britain*. The Pretender being a good Proficient in the *French* and *Romish* Schools, he will never think himself sufficiently Secured, but by the utter Ruine of the Protestant Subjects, both as Heretics and Traitors. The late Queen, his pretended Mother, who in cold Blood when she was Queen of *Britain*, advised to burn the West of *Scotland* into a hunting-Field, will be then for doing so by the greatest part of the Nation, and, no doubt, is at Pains to have her pretended Son educated to her own Mind. Therefore, he says, it were a great Madness in the Nation to take a Prince bred up in the horrid School of Perfidiousness, Persecution and Cruelty, and filled with Rage and Envy. The *Jacobites*, he says, both in *Scotland* and at St. *Germains*, are impatient under their present Straits, and knowing their Circumstances cannot be much worse than they are, at present, are the more inclinable to the Undertaking. He adds, That the *French* King knows there cannot be a more effectual way for himself to arrive at the Universal Monarchy, and to ruine the Protestant Interest, than by setting up the Pretender upon the Throne of Great *Britain*, he will in all probability attempt it; and tho' he should be perswaded that the Dange would miscarry in the first, yet he can not but reap some Advantage by embroiling the three Nations.

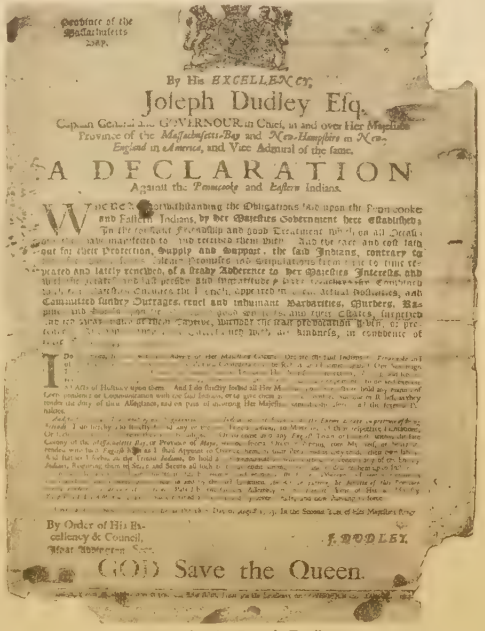
From all this the Author concludes it to be the Interest of the Nation, to provide for self-defence; and says, that as many have already given the Alarm, and are furnishing themselves with Arms and Ammunition, he hopes the Government will not only allow it, but encourage it, since the Nation ought all to appear as one Man in the Defence of

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

First Number of the "Boston News-Letter"

official head of Yale college, and six other Congregational ministers renounced nonconformity and adhered to the Episcopal church—the theme of many sermons, conferences, and prayers. 1707 1709

In 1707, Dudley sent a thousand militiamen, several hundred sailors, and a formidable fleet to take Port Royal. The expedition was a disastrous failure. Colonel John March, the inefficient commander of the undisciplined troops, was hooted in Boston streets and children ran after him crying, "Wooden Sword!" The Wooden Sword


By His EXCELLENCY,
Joseph Dudley Esq.
A DECLARATION
Against the Penobscot and Eastern Indians.
By Order of His Excellency & Council,
J. DUDLEY.
GOD Save the Queen.

Proclamation by Joseph Dudley

In 1709, Colonel Samuel Vetch brought from England orders for an advance on Montreal by way of Lake Champlain and for another on Quebec by sea and the Saint Lawrence. As recorded in an earlier chapter, Francis Nicholson led the land forces from Albany to Wood Creek near Lake Champlain; Vetch hurried to Boston to meet the promised English fleet. In Massachusetts, there was a general impress for soldiers; some say every tenth man was taken; but the promised English fleet did not come and the expedition was given up. After lying for several sultry months at Wood Creek, infested with pestiferous swarms of flies and mosquitos and scourged by malignant dysentery, the remnant of Nicholson's little army fell back cursing Vetch and wishing him hanged. Still Seeking the Conquest of Canada

1710 1711 Three Times and Out

In December, Nicholson went to England with Schuyler and the Mohawk chiefs already mentioned. In July, 1710, he arrived at Boston with a small fleet; in September, the fleet sailed for Port Royal with hospital and store ships and twenty-four transports. Of the latter, fourteen carried Massachusetts troops; two, troops from New Hampshire; three, troops from Rhode Island; and the other five, troops from Connecticut.

October 2, 1710

The fort at Port Royal was feebly garrisoned and surrendered on demand; Nova Scotia passed into the keeping of the English and Vetch became governor of the country. Port Royal had been three times taken by New England men and twice it had been restored to France by treaty. This time, it was kept.

To Take Quebec

Nicholson had stirred up the ministry in England to a more determined effort for the capture of Canada and, in June, 1711, he called the New England governors to meet at New London to arrange for the coming campaign. The royal ships came straggling into Boston harbor and, before the end of the month, General "Jack Hill" was there with seven of Marlborough's veteran regiments and Sir Hovenden Walker as admiral of the fleet.

July 30, 1711

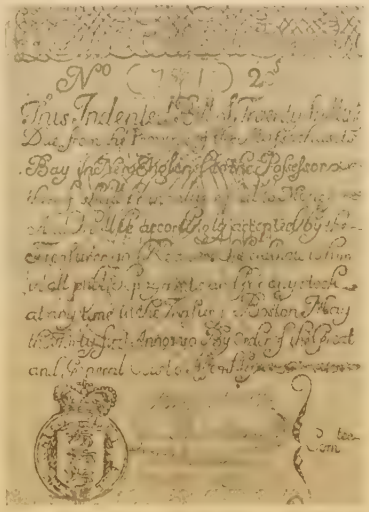
After several busy weeks, the fleet sailed for the Saint Lawrence, about a dozen men-of-war and sixty transports bearing English veterans and Massachusetts reinforcements, about twelve thousand men in all. It was a part of the plan that Nicholson was to lead four thousand men by way of Albany against Montreal. Governor Saltonstall led the Connecticut contingent as far as Albany and thither Nicholson repaired to lead his army northward.

Quebec not Taken

Incompetence in the admiral and ignorance in the pilots brought disaster upon the fleet. Ten or more of the ships drifted upon the rocks of the Saint Lawrence and went to pieces; a thousand brave men perished. The fleet withdrew; some of the fragments straggled back to Boston while Admiral Walker and General Hill sailed direct for England to try to throw the blame for their lack of laurel upon the New Englanders. At Lake

Champlain, Nicholson received the news of the fleet's disaster and fell back to Albany. Thus this most formidable expedition against Canada yet undertaken proved an utter failure, but the treaty of Utrecht was not long delayed and, by its terms, Acadia became English territory; it never again passed under French control. 1711 1712 March 31, 1713

In 1690, after Phips's attack on Quebec, Massachusetts authorized the issue of bills of credit, known as "colony bills" or "old charter bills," to the extent of seven thousand pounds. For this, the Massachusetts authorities have been called "the pioneers in a great economic experiment" — the use of paper money. Other issues followed with an ease and regularity to be acquired only by practice. In 1712, the Massachusetts province bills were made legal tender, but public confidence in their worth had been shaken and they rapidly declined in value. Party lines were sharply drawn on financial issues. There was a project for a Boston bank of credit founded on land security and "the land-bank war" was begun. Governor Dudley opposed the scheme and the few hard-money men took up the public-bank project as the less evil of the two. Paper Money



Massachusetts Indented Bill of Twenty Shillings

Public and Private Banks

The Massachusetts charter of 1691 did not include New Hampshire. The old Mason claim had been bought by a London merchant, Samuel Allen, who, in 1692, was commissioned as governor of New Hampshire. His son-in-law, John Usher, was acting or lieutenant- New Hampshire

1712–1715 governor. Usher began his turbulent administration with an attempt "to become the director and manager of the legislature." Allen soon appeared and, in January, 1699, dissolved the legislature. Bellomont and Dudley were commissioned as governors of New Hampshire and, in 1715, the heirs of the pretended proprietor gave up in despair.

September 15, 1698

Dudley's Going

In 1707, there was a determined attempt to secure the governor's removal, pamphlets were printed in London, and a petition was sent to the queen. With his usual address, Dudley weathered the storm, intriguing meanwhile with Cornbury at New York to secure the canceling of the New England charters. The death of the queen would end the governor's commission six months thereafter but Dudley received an order for his continuance in office. Clattering over Boston Neck with an escort of four troops of horse, he hurried to the town-house where he proclaimed his new commission. Then he seems to have prepared himself with composure for removal.

August 1, 1714

March 21, 1715

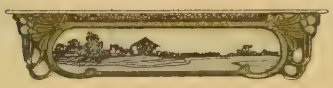
Cotton Mather.

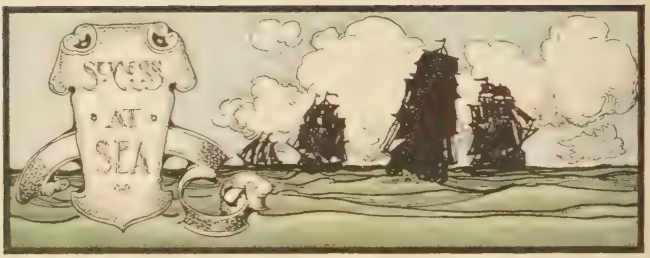
Governor Shute

George I. had arrived at the English court with "his ugly Killmansegge and Schulenburg" with their loose morals and their uncouth English. This German dullard knew little and cared less about affairs in far-off Massachusetts, with her opposing public-bank and land-bank factions. Cotton Mather

was well pleased when Dudley was removed from office; the land-bank faction was well pleased when Elisha Burgess was appointed governor; and the public-bank faction, in its turn, was well pleased when Burgess took the thousand pounds that they were glad to pay and left an open door for the passage of one of their number, Colonel Samuel Shute, to the governor's chair. At the same time, Lieutenant-governor Tailer was displaced by William Dummer, the son-in-law of Dudley. Governor Shute arrived on the third of October, 1716, and was received with a demonstrative parade; two days later, he kissed the Bible "very industriously" as he took the oath of office.

1715 March 17





CHAPTER XXI

RHODE ISLAND AND CONNECTICUT

1690
1715

Bigness Versus Importance

DURING the quarter-century now under consideration, the British government unceasingly attempted to force its policy upon colonial America with little regard for inherited or chartered rights. Nowhere does this persistence and the consequent resistance find a better illustration than in the history of Rhode Island — a sufficient reason for a more minute study of the affairs of that somewhat turbulent and closely circumscribed community than would otherwise be called for.

The Rhode Island Resumption

May 1, 1689

When the overthrow of Andros became known in Rhode Island, the freemen assembled at Newport and adopted an address "to the present supreme power of England" and asked that their old form of government might be confirmed to them. The charter that could not be found when Andros demanded it was returned to the custody of Governor Clarke. Before the end of the month, news of the accession of William and Mary arrived and the new monarchs were proclaimed in every town of the colony.

The Charter and the King

In February, 1690, the assembly met for the first time in nearly four years; Henry Bull was chosen governor and a new seal was procured in the place of the one that Andros had destroyed. At the annual election in May, Governor Bull declined further service and John Easton, the son of a former governor, was chosen in his place. The king recognized the reëstablished government;

the bold attitude of the republican faction had saved the charter. When Governor Phips of Massachusetts, as commander-in-chief of all the land and naval forces of New England, sent commissions for new militia officers in Rhode Island, the assembly ordered the previously commissioned officers to retain their positions and to hold their companies ready for defense. In the following winter, Phips visited Rhode Island, read his commission to Governor Easton in the presence of witnesses, and was told that, if the assembly had anything to say, he (Easton) would write.

1690 1696

August 2, 1692

Seal of Rhode Island, 1672

In 1659, Humphrey Atherton and others, not citizens of Rhode Island, had bought large tracts of land on Narragansett Bay. The jurisdiction of this region was in dispute and the validity of the purchase hung upon the decision of that question. In October, 1687, Governor Andros, as referee, reported against the claim of Connecticut as to jurisdiction and against the claim of the Atherton company as to ownership. In 1694, the board of trade in England received a Massachusetts petition concerning the eastern boundary of Rhode Island and, in 1695, the "Narragansett proprietors," as the Atherton claimants styled themselves, asked for a further consideration of their claim. The attorney-general reported that the jurisdiction over the Narragansett lands belonged to Connecticut and, in November, 1696, Massachusetts officers who were trying to force the collection of taxes on the eastern shore were seized and placed under bonds at Newport. With attempted robbery on both sides, the little colony had to struggle for existence; the island in Narragansett Bay was her only undisputed possession.

The Atherton Company

A Hedge of Trouble

1695 1703 Clarke again Governor

At the general election in May, 1695, Caleb Carr was chosen governor. Carr died in December and Walter Clarke was again elected. About this time, the legislature was divided, one house consisting of the governor and his council, the other of the deputies. Each house had a veto on the proceedings of the other and the governor had a salary of ten pounds a year. Clarke resigned in 1698 and was succeeded by Samuel Cranston who was chosen thirty times successively and held the office until his death in 1727.

Governor Cranston

Bellomont in Rhode Island

November 29, 1699

In September, 1699, Bellomont visited Rhode Island, met Governor Winthrop and commissioners from Connecticut, instructed both colonies to lay their dispute before the king, and returned to Boston whence he wrote home that the Rhode Island authorities were "the most irregular and illegal . . . that ever any English government was." Soon thereafter, he denounced Governor Cranston for "conniving at pirates and making Rhode Island their sanctuary." His report to the privy council presented an array of testimony against the colony so formidable that his failure to crush the plucky little commonwealth has been called the greatest marvel in the history of Rhode Island in the seventeenth century.

Dudley's Interference

September 3, 1702

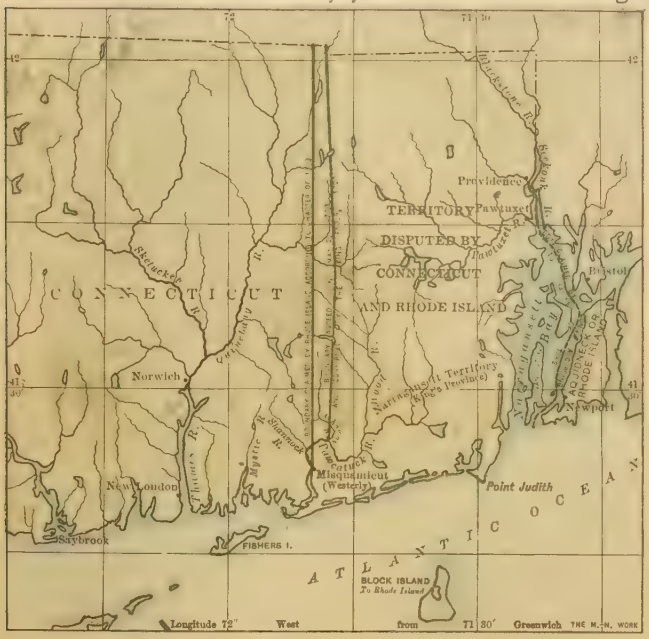
Soon after Joseph Dudley became governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire and vice-admiral of Rhode Island, he went to Newport. To his demand that the troops of the colony be put under his orders, Cranston and the council opposed the militia clause of the Rhode Island charter. Dudley ordered out the troops but there was no parade. Dudley denounced the government to the board of trade and the assembly approved the stand taken by the governor. At this critical moment, the interests of Rhode Island were put into the keeping of William Penn who was in high favor at the court of Queen Anne.

The Rhode Island-Connecticut Boundary

May 12

A claim, known as the Hamilton claim, that had annoyed Rhode Island and Connecticut for more than a score of years, was given its quietus in 1697. In 1703, the commissioners of Rhode Island and Connecti-

cut met at Stonington and agreed upon what is practically the present boundary line between the two states —the end of more than forty years of strife. Although 1695 1703



Map of Territory in Dispute between Connecticut and Rhode Island

the eastern boundary dispute still continued, the agreement that Rhode Island should extend to the Pawcatuck removed the most serious source of domestic difficulty.

A prize taken from the French and brought into Rhode Island waters led to the Rhode Island admiralty act in which is the explanation that the Rhode Island authorities "doe judge although in express words in our Charter we are not called or mentioned an Admiralty, . . . the General Council of this Colony to have the power of Admiralty of this Colony . . . until his Majesty's pleasure be further known."

A Colonial Admiralty Act

January 7, 1694-95

In December, 1703, the attorney-general of England

1703–1715 held that Rhode Island's assumption of admiralty jurisdiction certainly was a stretch of authority but that, as by its own terms it was limited "until his Majesty's pleasure be further known," it did not warrant a forfeiture of the charter. In the following month, the privy council annulled the admiralty act and placed all admiralty matters in the hands of Dudley as vice-admiral of New England. In the face of this decree, the Rhode Island assembly declared that the governors of the colony "have had and still have full power and authority to grant commissions to private men-of-war against her majesty's public enemies."

Colonial Audacity

January, 1703–04

June, 1705

Engagement between an English and French Ship, from Lahontan

Paper Money

In 1706, extraordinary preparations were made to resist an expected invasion. In 1709, preparations were made for the expedition that Nicholson was to lead against Canada. In 1710, Rhode Island sent ships and men to Boston for the second attempt against Port Royal. To meet the extraordinary expenses thus incurred, Rhode Island, for the first time, authorized an issue of paper money.

A Currency Controversy

The great event of 1711 was the ill-starred expedition against Canada for which Rhode Island furnished stores, vessels, and men, and issued additional bills of credit. After the restoration of peace, the Rhode Islanders tarred their cannons and at once found leisure to devote to their domestic affairs. The currency became a momentous political issue and the bitter controversy divided the people into the hard-money party and the paper-money party. At the election in the spring of 1715, only five of the twenty-eight deputies and only one of the assistants

were returned to office, but the storm of popular denunciation could not override the merited popularity of the governor. 1690 1698

Better to Bend than to Break

In October, 1687, Andros failed to force the Connecticut authorities to give up their charter, as recorded in a previous chapter. The prudent official record gives no reason for the failure and Andros was too proud to do so. The viceroy then read his commission and appointed Governor Treat, Fitz-John Winthrop, Wait Winthrop, and John Allyn as members of his council. The Connecticut governor and people were very courteous, but they were only waiting.

The Connecticut Charter Reappears

In April, 1689, Andros was put into prison at Boston and, in May, the Connecticut authorities quietly resumed their government and convoked the general court. Without a word of explanation, the lost charter reappeared.

June 13, 1689

At a special session of the assembly, William and Mary were proclaimed and the king was asked to see that the charter was not again interfered with. The first answer to this address was the appointment of Governor Fletcher of New York to the command of the Connecticut militia — a clear intimation of the royal assumption that the charter had been annulled. But the Connecticut authorities insisted that their charter had not been annulled.

1693

The Charter Ratified by the King April, 1694

In 1693, Fitz-John Winthrop was sent to England to seek a confirmation of the royal contract. The case was so clear that King William ratified the charter. The undiluted democracy of Thomas Hooker and the caution and suave diplomacy forced upon Connecticut by her weakness had proved a more sure tower of strength than the public attitudes and self-asserting spirit of her stronger and more aristocratic sister.

Legislative Evolution

The Connecticut constitution seems to have contemplated a unicameral legislature. In 1678, it was ordered that the governor and assistants should be a council to act during recesses of the assembly. In 1698, it was ordered that the council and the deputies should sit as separate houses and that laws should require the assent

1698 of each. In 1701, it was agreed that the May session
1705 of the general court should be held in Hartford and the October session in New Haven—an arrangement that lasted until 1873.

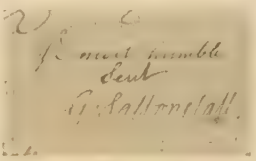
Another Winthrop

In 1698, Governor Treat was succeeded in office by the third John Winthrop, generally called Fitz-John.

Fitz-John Winthrop

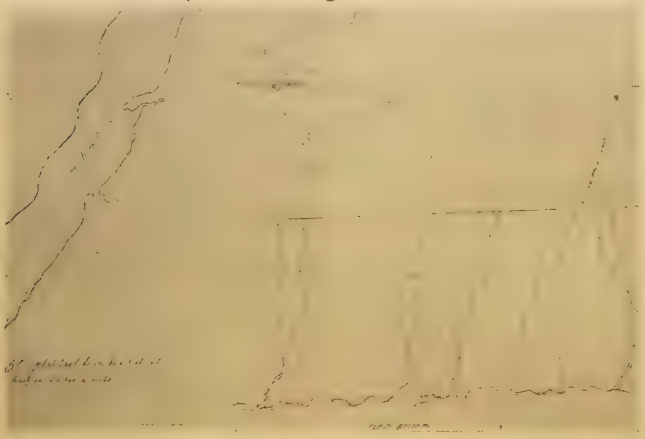
At this time, the right of appeal to the crown, an established principle of English constitutional law, was questioned in all the colonies and distinctly denied in Rhode Island and Connecticut. When the privy council gave notice to Connecticut that it was "the inherent right of His Majesty to receive and determine appeals" from English America and directed that "they govern themselves accordingly," the colony stood upon its charter and still refused to admit appeals; the governor said that before one was allowed "they would dispute the point with His Majesty." In 1700, the lords of trade notified Lord Bellomont that "this declining to admit appeals . . . is a humour that prevails so much . . . and the independency they thirst after is now so notorious" that a bill had been brought into the house of lords to resume the right of government to the crown. Owing probably to the death of the king and the outbreak of the war of the Spanish succession, the proposed attack on the charters was not made. In 1705, the English attorney-general reported that if things were as represented by Governor Dudley, the queen "might send a governor for civil and military purposes." At this critical moment, the influence of Sir Henry Ashurst and his friends was actively employed in behalf of Con-

necticut. On Winthrop's death, in November, 1707, the assembly chose his pastor and chief adviser, Gurdon Saltonstall, as his successor. The new governor entered on his official duties at the beginning of the following year, was confirmed in office at the regular election in the following May, and was continued therein by annual election until his death in 1724. 1707 1713 Saltonstall January 1, 1708



Autograph of Gurdon Saltonstall

The Connecticut boundary has two marked eccentricities. One of these, the quadrilateral extension at the southwest corner of the state, was first described in an agreement made with Governor Dongan of New York in 1683. The line, about as it is today, was confirmed by the king in 1700. The other eccentricity, the oblong that indents the northern Irregularities of Outline



Original Surveyors' Draft, Showing the Line of 1684

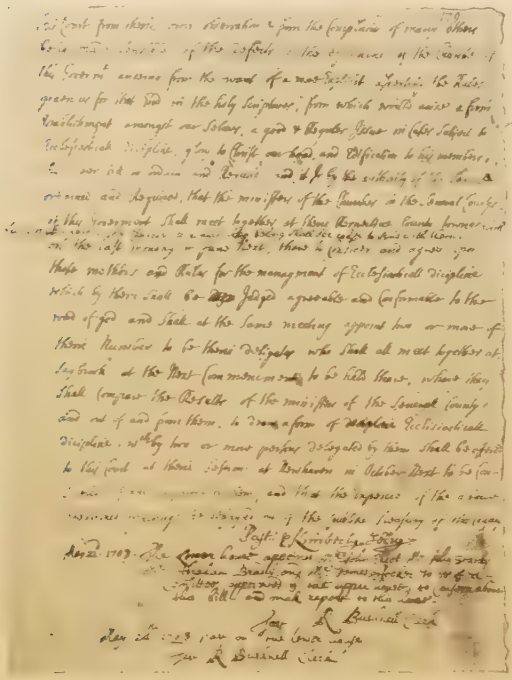
boundary, is due to an error of two "mathematicians" that Massachusetts sent in 1642 to fix her southern boundary according to her charter. A compromise was made in 1713, the line then agreed upon being much like that of today. In consideration of her concessions, Connecticut received more than a The Massachusetts Boundary

1690–1715

hundred thousand acres of wild land in Massachusetts.

Church and State

As recorded in the preceding volume, taxes for ecclesiastical purposes were levied and collected like other taxes and the conditions for suffrage in church meetings were the same as in town meetings. The Calvinistic Congregational churches thus recognized in 1650, were "established" and the formation of a new church required the consent of the general court and of the neighboring churches. For instance, toward the end of the seventeenth century, the residents of what is now the town of Groton, across the river from New London, desired a separate church. But "The First Church of Christ" at New London objected and, year after year, the general court refused the petition. The pertinacity of the petitioners brought church censure and children were baptized "on account of the mothers."



Order of the General Court of Connecticut Relative to Church Discipline

The Saybrook Platform

After the first relaxation that the "half-way covenant" of 1657 was, the number of "strict Congregationalists" steadily decreased, while the number of

"large Congregationalists" increased. In 1708, the general court ordered that the churches of each county send "messengers," i.e., lay representatives, to the county-town and that the county assemblies, consociations they were called, send delegates to meet at Saybrook to prepare a church system for adoption by the legislature. This Congregational synod met in September and elaborated the ecclesiastical system known as the Saybrook platform, which was at once ratified by the general court. The churches that stood upon it were "owned and acknowledged established by law." As Massachusetts orthodoxy became more and more diluted, Connecticut Congregationalism became more and more rigorous, although some unwelcome germs floated across the line from the ill-cultivated tangle on the east.

1690–1715

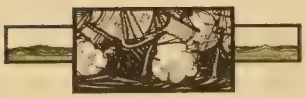
Statue of Abraham Pierson

Elihu Yale

Yale College

From the first settlement of New Haven it had been intended to set up a college there but the project was long deferred and Connecticut contributions continued to

1690 go to Cambridge. In 1698, the project was revived by
1715 the general synod. In 1700, the ten ministers who had been named as trustees met at Branford, each laying his contribution of books upon the table and saying, "I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony." In 1701, the general court granted a charter
October 9 for a collegiate school and voted an annual grant of about sixty pounds sterling in aid of its support. The trustees chose Saybrook as the home of the school and Abraham Pierson as its first rector. In 1716, the school was established at New Haven. In 1718, the trustees named the new collegiate building Yale college, in recognition of a gift from a London merchant, Elihu Yale. The free-school system of Connecticut had been established in 1644.



CHAPTER XXII

CANADA AND LOUISIANA

WHILE the English colonies in America were growing strong, New France remained weak. Differences in soil and climate fail to account for the difference in development. The English colony in America was in general a business venture; if it did not make money, it was a failure. But the French peasant went to New France because he was sent and he went without a family. The French soldier in Canada was offered his discharge and a year's pay if he would marry and settle there and to those who were already colonists premiums were offered for marrying and for children. The Englishman was glad to marry without a premium from the state and, when he emigrated to the New World, took his wife, children, and household goods with him. One was dependent; the other was characteristically independent. These dependent colonists constituted Canada; Canada leaned heavily on France and France was in decline.

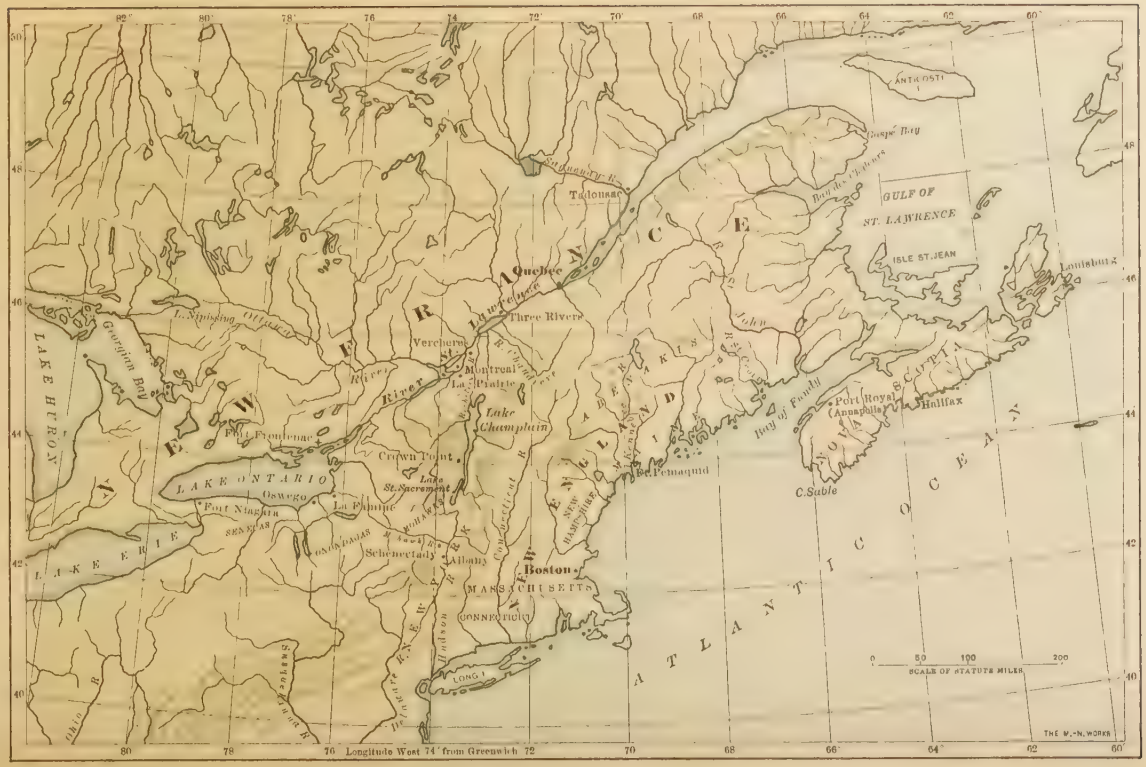
1689 1745

L'état c'est moi

In 1689, Frontenac, then in his seventieth year, again crossed the seas to govern Canada. For the next few years, what he did constitutes the history of the colony. He sent a force with Nicholas Perrot to hold the Ottawas in check or to win them back to his support. He planned his triple invasion of the southern colonies that thus he might reanimate the Canadians, chastise the English into prudence, and satisfac-

Frontenac and Callieres

Autograph of Nicholas Perrot



CANADA AND ADJACENT COUNTRY

torily impress the minds of their Indian allies. Then came Phips's capture of Port Royal, the Winthrop advance on Montreal, and the repulse of Phips and Walley at Quebec. In 1694, Frontenac forced the Iroquois to sue for peace. In 1697, came the treaty of Ryswick and, in November, 1698, death robbed New France of her most distinguished hero. Frontenac's successor, M. de Callieres, acquired great influence over the Indians, secured peace with the Iroquois in 1700, and died in 1703. 1689 1707 Vaudreuil

The next governor-general, Philippe de Vaudreuil, held the Iroquois in check and transferred the terrors of Indian invasion from New France to New England. His policy of securing quiet in Canada by encouraging raids upon the defenseless New England towns hastened the end of the French power in America by convincing the English colonies that the only path to permanent peace lay through the downfall of French rule in Canada. Canada then had a population of eighteen thousand; the English colonists were not fewer than four hundred thousand. France was weak and humiliated; England was strong and arrogant; and yet, expedition after expedition missed the apparently inevitable victory, until the pious French began to think that they were under the specially protecting shield of Heaven—and to believe it with all the confidence of Puritan faith similarly exercised.

Medal Given to Indian Chiefs in 1693

That poor shuttlecock of French and English diplomacy that one side called Acadia and the other Nova Scotia was, in these years, subjected to frequent incursions as recorded in an earlier chapter—the failure of Church in 1704, that of March in 1707, and the successful Acadia

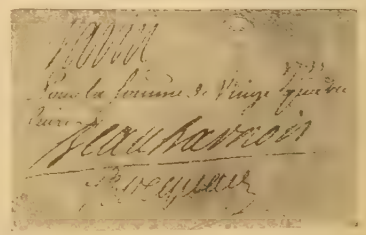
1710 attempt of Nicholson in 1710. Then the name of Port
1745 Royal was changed to Annapolis (Royal) in honor of the queen and, in 1713, Acadia was lost to the French forever. The treaty that confirmed Nova Scotia and New Foundland to England left France in undisputed possession of Cape Breton Island. France invited thither the French inhabitants of the ceded provinces and immediately began to fortify it in the most formidable manner. The fortifications of Quebec and Montreal were also strengthened and, in 1721, a post was established between Quebec and Montreal and another at Niagara. Vaudreuil died in 1725.

Fortifications

Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil

Beauharnois

In 1726, M. de Beauharnois arrived as Vaudreuil's successor. In his administration, traffic with the valley of the Mississippi was developed and the agricultural resources of the country were advanced. When, by special orders from France, Niagara was regularly fortified, the English post at Oswego was garrisoned. The next move on the board was the construction of a French fort at Crown Point by which Oswego, New York, and New England were threatened. Beauharnois was recalled in 1745.



French Card Money, Twenty-four Livres, issued in 1735

Louisburg

At the entrance to the Gulf of Saint Lawrence stood two island sentinels, New Foundland and Cape Breton. Direct access to her settle-

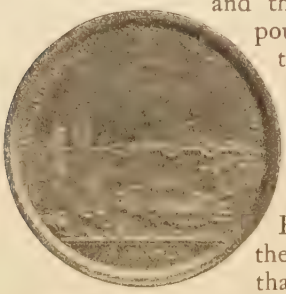
ments on the Saint Lawrence was important to France and, in case of war, Cape Breton Island might be made the near-by basis of important aggressive operations. For such reasons, France began to clothe her island

1713
1745

Map of Acadia, Cape Breton Island, and Louisburg

sentinel in impenetrable armor. She built on the southeast part a walled town with gate and ditch and drawbridge as in feudal times. The ramparts were of massive stone, thirty feet or more in height and fortified at every point accessible by an enemy. The ditch that girt the

1689–1745 walls was eighty feet wide and two and a half miles in circuit. At the entrance to the harbor was a little island and there the island battery with thirty 28-pounders was planted. At the bottom of the harbor was the Grand or Royal Battery with thirty cannons most of which were 42-pounders. The imposing menace, worthy of a royal title, was called Louisburg.



Medal Commemorating the Founding of Louisburg

War Again

In 1744, war between France and England again broke out. As soon as the French commander at Louisburg heard that war had been declared, he picked up the English garrison at Canso and carried them off as prisoners of war. He sent another expedition with similar purpose to Annapolis (late Port Royal) but Governor Shirley of Massachusetts was too prompt of action for its success. Then Shirley concocted his wild scheme and, in 1745, sent Pepperrell and a force that took Louisburg from the French as will be told in greater detail in a later chapter.

Iberville

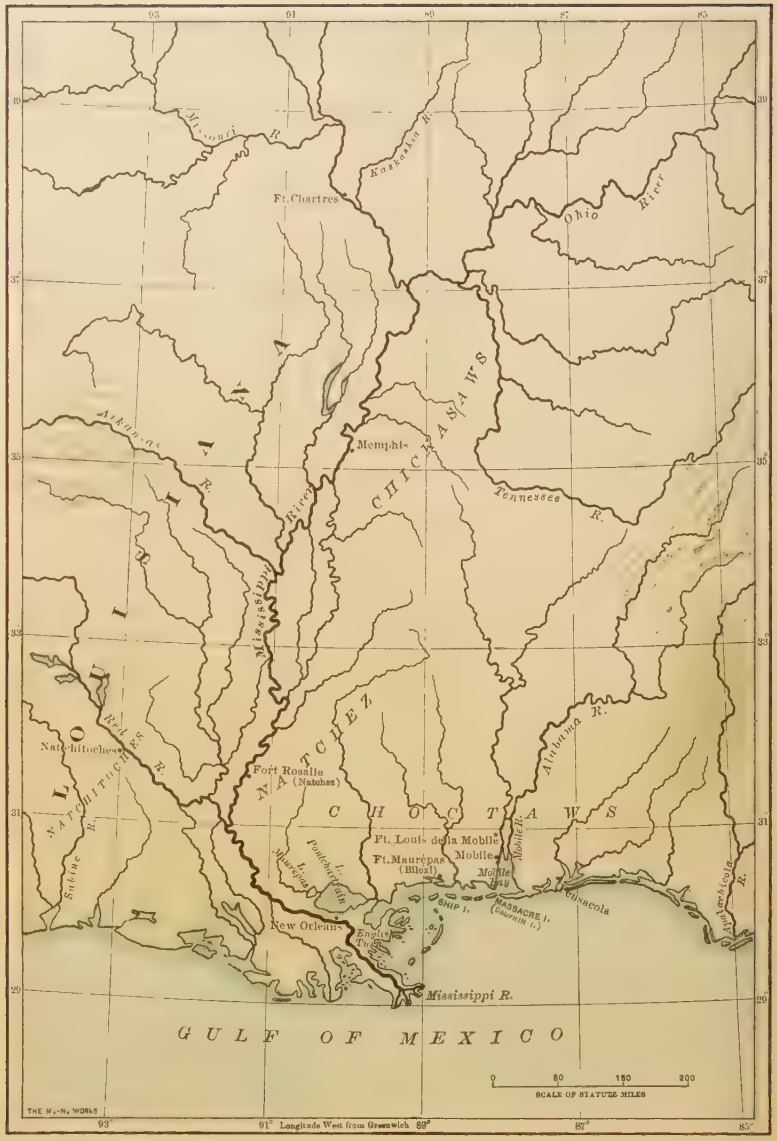
La Salle had found an empire which in loyalty to his king he called Louisiana. But La Salle was dead and the king was too poor to plant a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. Among those who seemed to realize that, when Frontenac died, the day of romance took leave of Canada and diplomacy supplanted daring, were four Le Moyne brothers who, under the titles of their seigniories, associated their names with the perilous adventure of that day. One of these was Pierre le Moyne, sieur d'Iberville, "The Cid of New France." Iberville aroused the interest of the French king and, in October, 1698, sailed from Brest with frigates, transports, colonists, and marines. Six weeks later, the expedition arrived at Santo Domingo; in January, it was off Pensacola coasting westward; in February, it passed Dauphin Island at the mouth of Mobile Bay and came to anchor under the shelter of an island later known as Ship Island.

His Expedition

January 26

February 10, 1699

Hennepin's Map of New France and Louisiana, 1683



Map of Louisiana

1699 His Exploration

After a fortnight of preparation, with his younger brother Bienville, Sauvolle, and the Franciscan father, Anastasius, who had been with La Salle, Iberville began a voyage of exploration. The number of the party is variously stated as thirty-three, forty-eight, forty-five, and fifty-one. The chief value of these discrepancies is that they illustrate the confusion pertaining to the records. With bark canoes and two small boats, they entered the Mississippi and began to stem its current. Iberville now undertook the impossible task of identifying the river as the Mississippi by Father Hennepin's account, the truth of which he soon began to doubt. When he met an Indian who wore a cloak given him by Tonty who had, more than once, come down the river to search for his old leader, Iberville felt sure that he was in the stream that had borne La Salle to the gulf.

February 27

March 2

The Faithful Tonty

After going about a hundred leagues up the river, the explorers began their return to the ships. On the way, they separated, Iberville going by way of the lakes that he called Maurepas and Pontchartrain, while Bienville went down the river and by the gulf to the rendezvous. After the separation, Bienville came into possession of a letter that Tonty had left for La Salle. It was dated on the twentieth of April, 1685, and told of his trip down the river and his search along the coast—the token of steadfast friendship in the midst of clouds of treachery.

Mississippi is Begun

After his return to the ships, Iberville built Fort Maurepas on the shore of Biloxi Bay, probably on the site of the present Ocean Springs—the sign of French jurisdiction over the territory from the Rio Bravo del Norte to Pensacola. Sauvolle was put in command, with Bienville, then only eighteen years old, next in rank. The main object of the expedition had been secured and, in May, 1699, Iberville sailed for France. In September, Bienville revisited the Mississippi River and, at the distance of twenty-three leagues from its mouth, was surprised to see an armed English ship. It was part of

1699–1702 an expedition fitted out by the Doctor Daniel Coxe who bought the Byllynge interest in West Jersey. Coxe now held the old Carolana patent and the presence of his ship emphasized the English claim to the Mississippi valley. His immediate object was to establish a colony of Huguenot refugees in that region. Bienville convinced the English captain that it would be better to retire without making a landing. The interview was held at a bend of the river that is still called English Turn.

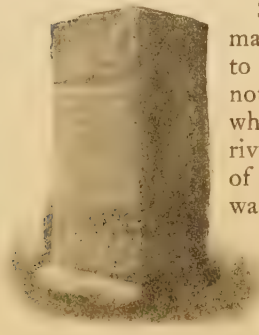
Louisiana is Begun

Iberville came back in December, 1699, and began a fort on the Mississippi eighteen leagues from its mouth, the first settlement in the present state of Louisiana. While the fort was building, Tonty made his appearance, curious to know what was doing at the mouth of the Mississippi. Iberville's third visit to Louisiana was of little importance and as little interest. The war of the Spanish succession raged and Louisiana languished. With gaping wounds like those of Blenheim and Malplaquet and with Marlborough and Prince Eugene clutching at her throat, France was not able to send men or money to Mississippi. Iberville was appointed commander-in-chief of "the colony of Mississippi" in 1703 and, in 1706, he died of yellow fever at Havana.

1701-1702

Sauvolle

Sauvolle died in 1701 and the command, when Iberville was not present, fell to Bienville. The identity of Sauvolle is not yet clear. The troops were wretched whether on their spongy foothold by the riverside or on the hot and glaring sands of the Biloxi beach. In 1702, the capital was moved from Old Biloxi to the Mobile River. At a bluff on the west side of the river nine leagues above the bay, Bienville built Fort Louis de la Mobile and, at the landing below, a surveyor laid out a town. The site, now known as Twenty-seven Mile Bluff was, after the passing of two centuries, marked with a commemorative monument. The capital was



Monument Marking the Site of Fort Louis de la Mobile, erected in 1902

January 23, 1902

moved thence to the present Mobile in 1711. Dauphin Island, early known as Massacre Island, was settled about 1707 and fortified in 1709. Old Biloxi was burned in 1719 and, in December of that year, a new establishment, called New Biloxi, was made on the west shore of the bay. 1702 1716

In 1701, the number of inhabitants was stated at a hundred and fifty. A few Canadians with their Indian wives and families floated down from Illinois to meet the unaccustomed summer heat and the fatal fevers that crept up from the southern swamps. In 1704, the Blenheim year, Louis XIV. sent a vessel with soldiers, priests, artisans, twenty-three poor girls, and a needed store of supplies. The "poor girls" found husbands within thirty days, half of the ship's crew died, and Bienville had to send twenty soldiers to help navigate the ship back to France. Before the end of the summer, thirty of the newly arrived soldiers and the brave and faithful Tonty died. Hunting and fishing were mingled with the search for pearls and gold and agriculture was neglected. It was only by food sent from Santo Domingo and from France that the colonists were kept from starving. In 1712, there was a population of four hundred and Bienville had to watch the more prosperous to prevent their escape from the colony. Recruits Death of Tonty

While the Utrecht negotiations were in progress, the French king granted to Sieur Antoine Crozat, a wealthy French merchant, the exclusive right to trade in the colony for fifteen years. Crozat's chief chance of gain lay in the development of the colony, but the sale of vegetables hardly met the expectation of commercial grandeur. In May, 1713, Cadillac, the founder of Detroit, arrived in the colony with a commission as governor. Bienville was continued as the second in command. Crozat September 14, 1712

In 1716, Bienville was sent to bring the Natchez Indians to terms. By somewhat dubious means, he compelled them to construct, on their own territory, Fort Rosalie, the sole purpose of which was to hold them in Natchez

1716 awe. Natchez thus became the oldest permanent settle-
1717 ment in the Mississippi valley south of Illinois. In March, 1717, Cadillac was succeeded as governor by L'Épinay.

Louisiana in 1753

Crozat's Failure

August 23, 1717

Crozat acknowledged his scheme a failure and assigned his charter to the regent who granted the colony to the newly organized "Company of the West," sometimes called the Mississippi company. The population of the colony was then estimated at seven hundred.

John Law

Louis XIV. died in September, 1715, and the dissolute duke of Orleans became regent of France. The regent had a friend, John Law; a new destiny awaited Louisiana. The long wars of the grand monarch had left France owing about three thousand million livres. The regent arbitrarily scaled a floating debt of more than six hundred million livres down to two hundred and fifty million and issued *billets d'etat* to that extent; even these securities circulated under a discount of seventy per cent. In this extremity of the state, appears the famous Scotchman with a pack of plausible schemes for the relief of the government. In May, 1716, Law was authorized

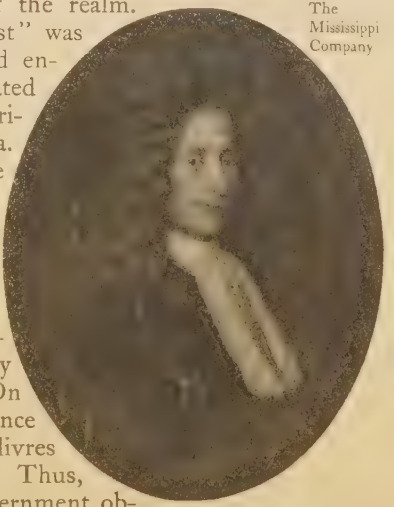
His Bank

to found "La Banque Générale," a private bank of issue with a capital of six million livres. The experimental

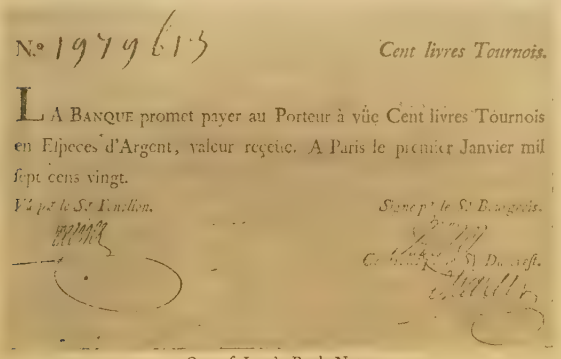
bank became successful and its notes were much preferred to the unstable coin of the realm. 1717

The Mississippi Company

The "Company of the West" was chartered in August, 1717, and endowed with privileges that created a sovereignty over the vast territory then designated as Louisiana. The name of Law led in the list of directors given in the royal edict. The capital stock of two hundred thousand shares of five hundred livres each was to be paid for wholly in *billets d'etat* which the company exchanged for *rentes*—practically a form of annuity bonds. On these government securities, France was to pay three million livres interest yearly to the company. Thus, millions of the depreciated government obligations quickly disappeared from circulation; public credit seemed restored as if by miracle.



John Law

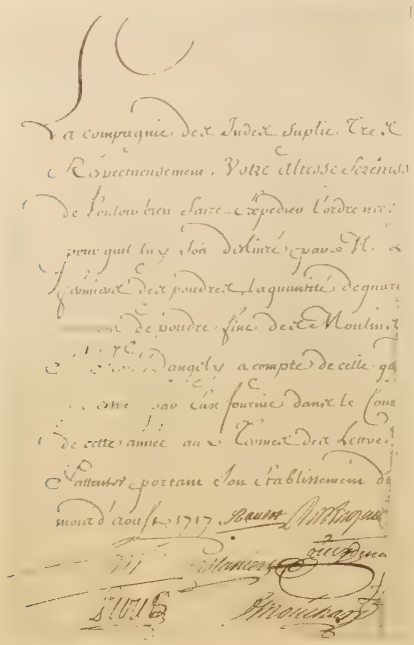

N.° 19719 13
Cent livres Tournois.
LA BANQUE promet payer au Porteur à vûe Cent livres Tournois en Especes d'Argent, valeur reçeûe. A Paris le premier Janvier mil sept cens vingt.

One of Law's Bank-Notes

At the beginning of 1719, the Banque Générale became the Banque Royale—a government institution with the regent as sole proprietor and Law as its director.

La Banque Royale

1719–1720 The capital stock of the company was increased threefold and France was deluged with new bank-notes. The companies of Senegal, of China, of Africa, and of the East Indies were absorbed and the "Company of the West" became the "Company of the Indies." The regent granted privilege after privilege and each grant fed the feverish desire for investment in the shares of the company and increased the premium at which they were sold. Before Law, the proudest aristocracy in Europe bowed; his liberality made him the idol of the people. The street before his house was daily thronged with applicants of both sexes and all ranks, each eager to obtain an interview with the modern Plutus. Paris quadrupled her manufactures; fiat money was the basis of an unbounded prosperity.



Document with Law's Signature

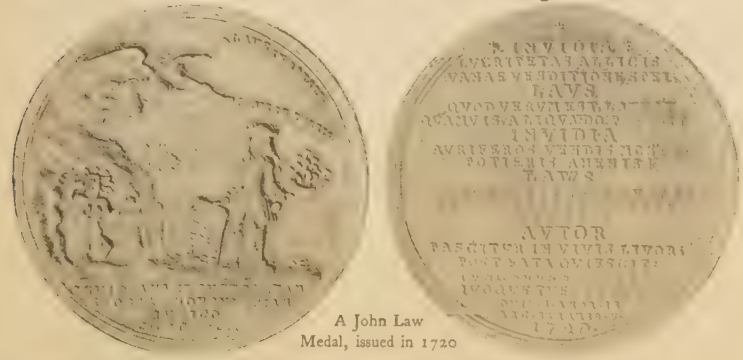
The Bubble

The Bubble Bursts

But the wary and world-wise secretly converted their paper wealth into money and sent it from the country. The increasing scarcity of gold and silver was soon felt, a run was made on the bank, and the bubble burst.

July, 1720 The royal bank stopped payment and John Law, director-general of the bank, the father of the Mississippi scheme, and the controller-general of the finances of

France, became a fugitive and almost a pauper. He 1720
died at Venice in 1729. From Law's sowing, France



A John Law
Medal, issued in 1720

harvested financial prostration and universal distress. Even England suffered from the South Sea scheme that the excitement instigated. But, before John Law came to the front, France was bankrupt and ready to try almost any of the many plans known to insolvent states or failing merchants. He actually postponed the inevitable and should not be charged with all the misery.

Contemporary Dutch Caricature of John Law

The company had earn-

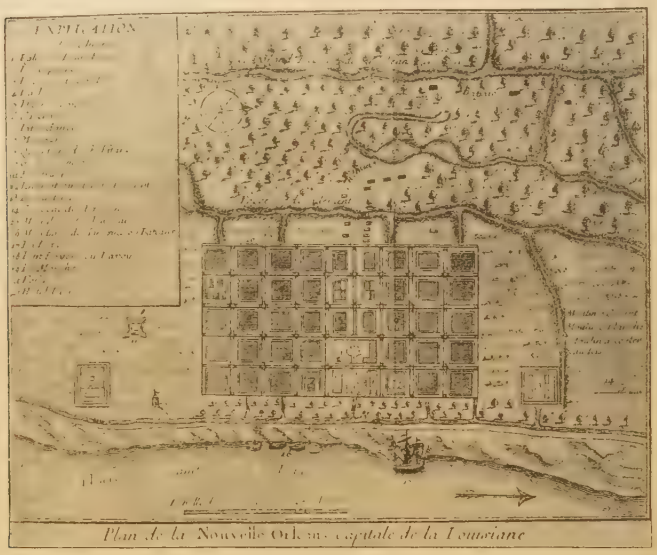
1717
1721

The Development of Louisiana

estly undertaken the development of its territory and Louisiana had shared in the seeming prosperity of France. In 1717, Illinois was assigned to Louisiana and, in 1718, the company sent three ships with troops and colonists and Bienville's appointment as commandant-general. The early commanders are generally spoken of as governors. Law received a grant of land twelve miles square on the Arkansas, agreed to send fifteen hundred settlers, and did invest more than a million livres.

New Orleans Begun

In 1718, Bienville laid the foundations of New Orleans, named in honor of the regent. In June, 1719, two ships came direct from Guinea with five hundred negroes. Bienville wanted Pensacola and, when Spain and France went to war, he took it; the Spanish took



Plan of New Orleans in 1753

it back, the French recaptured it, and so the game went on. Peace was made in 1720 and Pensacola was given back to Spain. News of the bursting of Law's bubble arrived in June, 1721. Fortunately, the collapse did

not affect Louisiana as disastrously as it did France. In 1722, Bienville transferred the company's stores from Biloxi to New Orleans which then had a population of two hundred and became the capital of the colony. In February, 1724, Bienville was ordered back to France. M. Périer, who succeeded him as governor, arrived at New Orleans in October, 1726. 1722 1740

The Natchez Massacre

Bienville had avoided serious Indian troubles and ascribed part of his success to "the care that I took to set these barbarians against each other." M. Périer was less fortunate; in November, 1729, the Indians killed nearly all the French at Natchez. In 1730, reinforcements came from France and the Natchez Indians were severely punished. In 1731, the remnant of the tribe was adopted by the Chickasaws and the Natchez name became a mere reminiscence. In this latter year, the Louisiana charter was surrendered to the king and, in 1733, Bienville came back as royal governor. In 1736, he set out with about six hundred white men and negroes and numerous Choctaw allies to attack the village of the Chickasaws. A coöperating force had been organized in the Illinois country but the Chickasaws met the two columns separately and defeated them in detail. The commanders of the northern contingent were captives at the time of Bienville's attack. After Bienville's failure, Artaguette and Vincennes were put to death with torments and slow fire.

A French Colonial Coin, 1722

Bienville Comes Back

The Chickasaw success made it imperative that the Chickasaws be humbled. In 1739, Bienville marched against the enemy with the largest army that the colony had ever put into the field. Near the site of Memphis, he was joined by Céloron with a company from Canada and by Buissonière and Longueil with a detachment from Fort Chartres, on the Mississippi a few miles above the mouth of the Kaskaskia. But time was wasted, sickness thinned the ranks, and the main army

Bienville Goes Back

August, 1739–March, 1740

1740–1745 returned without having seen the Chickasaws. Bienville was so mortified that he tendered his resignation. He was relieved of his command, returned to France, and never again saw the colony to which he had devoted more than forty years of active service. The romantic affection for his memory seems to rest more on what he suffered and attempted than on any marked ability or success. His successor was Pierre Rigaud, marquis de Vaudreuil, son of him who, forty years before, had been governor of Canada.

May, 1743

The Grand Marquis

The Illinois Country

In these years, Illinois suffered less than did the lower portion of the colony. The soil was more productive, the climate was less pestilential, and the territory was further removed from the little court at New Orleans. While at Mobile, Biloxi, and New Orleans, provisions were generally scarce and the settlers often hungry, in Illinois the tickled earth laughed with abundant harvests and the two thousand well-fed husbandmen each year sent their surplus products down the river—as their children do unto this day. Year by year, the low country became more prosperous. Rice and tobacco continued to grow and the candleberry to yield its wax. In 1751, the sugar-cane was introduced and, in the following year, we hear of cotton culture. The conquest of the Chickasaws had been a failure; the grander conquest of the soil had begun. Not all the swords were beaten into plowshares nor all the spears into pruning hooks, but the advance guard of an irresistible army gained firm footing on the borders of the mighty river. On came and still on comes the grand army whose rear we have not seen, whose tramp unheard by sense is still resonant with majesty. Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war and today her tasseled banners wave, as if in conscious triumph, over the almost boundless fields of the most prosperous valley in the world.

The Grand Army of the Republic

CHAPTER XXIII

FLORIDA

AFTER the romantic quest of Ponce de Leon for Bimini and its magic-working waters, after the sufferings of Narvaez, the strange wanderings of De Vaca, and De Soto's futile and fatal search for gold and silver, the Spanish kings put forth only languid efforts to maintain or to extend their possessions east of the Mississippi River. They were not deeply moved by La Salle or Bienville, seem scarcely to have envied the blossoming beauty of Louisiana in the time of Law, and with difficulty rallied from their *ennui* just enough to hold the hat to catch that half-formed fruit as, in 1762, it fell from the French tree on which it grew. 1688 1745 Spanish Languor

Spanish Florida had simply vegetated. It was not so much a Spanish colony as an aggregation of military posts kept up by the government to insure the control of the Gulf of Mexico. In 1565, Menendez had laid the foundations of Saint Augustine and struggled thence through rains and swamps and forests to write at Fort Caroline his famous legend: "This I do not as to Frenchmen but as to Lutherans." In 1586, Saint Augustine was sacked and burned by Sir Francis Drake—sweet revenge for the perfidy of Ulloa. The terrors of the Spanish armada engaged the energies of English seamen and gave the Spaniards opportunity to rebuild the ruined fort and town. For the next hundred years, Saint Augustine and Florida are almost uninteresting synonyms. In the Sixteenth Century

Franciscan fathers came in 1593, and many Indian

1688 missions were established. Some of the priests were
1745 killed and some of the Indians were captured and
In the Seventeenth Century reduced to slavery. In 1647, Saint Augustine had but three hundred families, although Menendez had taken thither twenty-five hundred colonists more than eighty years before. Of course, the mutual animosities between Englishman and Spaniard, heretic and Catholic, were not buried, but Virginia was distant and intercourse between the two settlements was infrequent. The granting of Carolina by Charles II. of England to his pious friends, in 1663, and the subsequent settlements at Albemarle and Charles Town brought flame and fuel nearer to each other, and in 1665, Captain John Davis, a bucaneer, descended on Saint Augustine and laid it waste. Retaliatory raids were made in 1670 and 1686, and kept alive a hatred that hardly rose to the dignity of war. In 1687, negro slaves were introduced and, in the next decade, Pensacola was begun just in time to shut out Iberville and his French fleet.

Old City Gate of Saint Augustine

When the war of the Spanish succession fell on Europe, Governor Moore of South Carolina made his ill-fated expedition, burned Saint Augustine as told in a preceding chapter, and made a hasty retreat by land to Charles Town. While Law's Mississippi bubble was still buoyant, Bienville stirred the stagnant pool of Floridian history by his game of give and take at Pensacola, as already recorded. In

In the Eighteenth Century 1733, Oglethorpe came to Georgia, a fresh menace to the other side, as will be told more fully in the following chapter. In 1748, a European peace put an end to these miserable hostilities on the frontiers of Florida and English America.

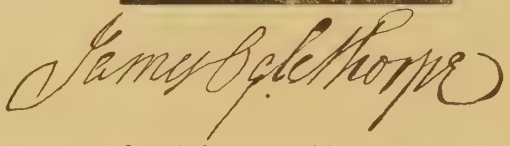
CHAPTER XXIV

GEORGIA AND THE CAROLINAS

1721 1745 The Georgia Country

BY the charter of 1665, Charles II. of England extended Carolina "as far as the degrees of twenty-nine inclusive of northern latitude." The several treaties between England and Spain did not fix definite limits to the territorial claims of either and there were oft-arising disputes about a region that neither of these powers was willing to surrender or clearly to define.

In 1717, the Carolina proprietors were negotiating with Sir Robert Montgomery who sought a grant of the lands from the Savannah to the Altamaha. The territory in question was to be constituted a distinct province under the name of the margravate of Azilia—a barrier against the Spaniards and the Indians and a check to the encroachments of the French. The proprietors, careful for the safety of their charter, referred the proposition to the king for his concurrence and his majesty referred the



Azilia

1721 matter to the board of trade. The scheme dragged itself
1732 along for a dozen years but Azilia did not materialize.

Oglethorpe

As early as 1710, James Edward Oglethorpe withdrew from Oxford and began his military life as ensign in the English army. In 1718, at twenty years of age, he returned from service under Prince Eugene of Savoy, with a reputation for executive ability and warlike knowledge not often held by one of his years. In 1722, he became a member of the English house of commons in which he held a seat for thirty years.

The Georgia Charter

Oglethorpe became chairman of a parliamentary commission to investigate England's prison system and to suggest measures of reform. This led to a memorial to the privy council setting forth that there were indigent persons, then a burden on the public, who would willingly seek homes in the American colonies if they were provided with passage and the means of settling there. The petitioners offered to take charge of such a movement and to erect the proposed plantation into a proprietary government. The petition met favorable action and the Georgia charter was issued on the ninth of June, 1732.

Seal of the Georgia Trustees

This charter made Oglethorpe and others "Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America." It gave them authority to legislate for the province for twenty-one years and conveyed to them seven-eighths of the lands between the Savannah and the Altamaha "and westterly from the heads of the said rivers respectively, in direct lines to the south seas." Lord Carteret, one of the late proprietors of Carolina, subsequently conveyed to them the remaining eighth of the territory. Parliament gave ten thousand pounds; the Society for Propagating

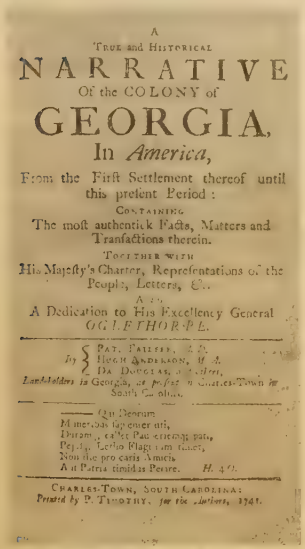
The Georgia Trustees

the Gospel in Foreign Parts gave a like amount and, [illegible] with the bank of England, led long lists of contributors.

Applicants were carefully examined; if they were found worthy, their debts were compromised (generally on easy terms) and consents for their discharge were procured. From the time of their acceptance until the time of sailing, the adult male emigrants were drilled each day by the sergeants of the royal guards, for each prospective planter of the buffer colony must be a soldier and each frontier town a garrison. Negro slavery was prohibited and Oglethorpe was chosen governor of what was to be a "place of refuge for the distressed people of Britain and the persecuted Protestants of Europe." The gates of this refuge would turn on easy hinges for a Jew and slam with unrelenting energy if a "papist" came that way. The governor gave his time and service and bore his own expenses.

No Papist Need Apply

Map of Settlements from Charlestown to Saint Augustine


A
True and Historical
NARRATIVE
Of the COLONY of
GEORGIA,
In *America*,
From the First Settlement thereof until this present Period:
Containing
The most authentick Facts, Matters and Transactions therein.
Together with
His Majesty's Charter, Representations of the People, Letters, &c.
A
Dedication to His Excellency General
OGLETHORPE.
By PAT. TAILFER, &c.
HUGH ANDERSON, M. A.
DA. DOUGLAS, &c.
Landholders in Georgia, at present in Charles-Town in South Carolina.
Qui Deorum
Munera sub juvenes ati,
Durum, calle Pac emerunt pati,
Pejus, Letho Flagitium timet,
Fortiter pro caris Amicis
Aut Patria timidus Perire. H. 4 O.
CHARLES-TOWN, SOUTH CAROLINA:
Printed by P. TIMOTHY, for the Authors, 1741.

Title-page of Tailfer's *A True and Historical Narrative*

The Site

On the seventeenth of November, 1732, Oglethorpe

1732 1736 sailed from England with about a hundred and thirty persons. On the thirteenth of January, the colonists arrived at Charlestown. A week later, they were at

January 20 "Beaufort town where they landed and refreshed themselves." Oglethorpe and Colonel William Bull of Charlestown went up the Savannah River and, at Yamacraw bluff, marked out the site of what is now the city of Savannah. From Tomo-chi-chi, the venerable chief or mico of the Yamacraws, the governor obtained an informal cession of lands immediately needed. A larger tract was secured in the following May.

Savannah Begun

Thence Oglethorpe returned to Beaufort and gave a "plentiful dinner" that included "4 fat hogs, 8 turkies, besides fowls, English Beef, and other provisions, a hogshead of punch, a hogshead of beer, and a large quantity of wine"—the "Anne" had touched at Madeira. After this Sunday thanksgiving, quite different from the equally characteristic Plymouth fast, the colonists left Beaufort

February 2–12, 1733 with their goods and two days later made their landing. Colonel Bull had returned to Yamacraw and now aided Oglethorpe in laying out Savannah. The broad avenues with parks at the alternate crossings still bear witness to their wisdom and the principal thoroughfare that leads back from the water-front perpetuates the prosaic patronymic of the South Carolina colonel.

Highlanders

Lands were allotted in July and confirmed by deed in December. Fort Argyle was established on the Ogeechee, other villages were laid out, and every ship that came from England brought small accessions to the colony. Among these recruits were Scottish Highlanders,

January, 1736 some of whom found homes at Fort Argyle while others built in the district they called Darien the little town that took the name of New Inverness.

Salzburgers

A remnant of the Piedmontese Waldenses had fled from persecution to the obscurity of the village of Salzburg, then belonging to Bavaria but now a part of upper Austria. After several generations, persecution again found them out and, in 1728, thirty thousand were driven into exile. Their sufferings excited interest in England

and the house of commons appropriated ten thousand pounds to be used in "defraying the charges of carrying over and settling foreign and other Protestants" in Georgia. About fifty families took the oath of loyalty to the British crown and were conveyed to Georgia — pilgrims for conscience' sake. On "Reminiscere Sunday" (March, 1734), the wayworn pilgrims entered the Savannah River. They built a town in a sterile spot and, in their pious fervor, called it Ebenezer. In a few years, they gave up their homes and formed a new settlement on the Savannah River, near the mouth of Ebenezer Creek. They were followed by a colony of Moravians to whom lands were assigned on the river between Ebenezer and Savannah-town. They soon found new homes in Pennsylvania.

1734
1736

Contemporary Print Showing Costume of Salzburger Man and Woman

Soon after the arrival of the Salzburgers, Oglethorpe went to England and resumed his seat in parliament. That body granted twenty-six thousand pounds for "settling, fortifying and defending" Georgia and the king approved the trustees' prohibition of the introduction and use of negro slaves and of the importation and sale of distilled liquors. But in two or three years, the "better sort of people in Savannah" were begging for the use of negroes.

Slavery and Strong Drink

January, 1735

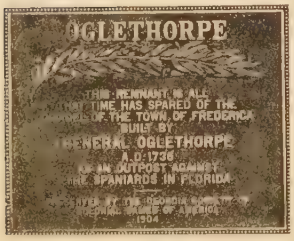
On the morning of the fifth of February, 1736, two ships passed over the bar at the mouth of the Savannah. Oglethorpe had come back with more than two hundred settlers sent out by the trustees and with others who had come at their own charge. This accession is known in the history of Georgia as the "grand embark-

The Grand Embarkation

1736 ation" and its object was the peopling of the southern part of the province and the building of a military town at the mouth of the Altamaha. Charles Wesley came as secretary to the governor and John Wesley came as missionary to the Indians.

Frederica Founded

On the second of March, the newly arrived colonists departed from Tybee for Saint Simon Island. By the twenty-third, Frederica had been laid out and a fort almost completed. Savannah had been begun as the commercial metropolis of the province. Frederica was intended to constitute its southern outpost and strong defense. Oglethorpe would make it so strong that the Spaniards could not take it and would not dare to leave it in their rear and invade the settlements beyond. The energetic governor built Fort Saint Andrew and Fort William on Cumberland Island, advanced the boundaries of Georgia to the Saint Johns River, and, on the north bank of that stream left Fort Saint George to do picket duty against the Spaniards.



Tablet Marking the Ruins of Fort Frederica

The Five Georgia Towns

For many years, Georgia's population belonged almost entirely to these five towns. Savannah was a "charity" colony of "decayed peoples," i.e., the English poor; Frederica was occupied chiefly by a military garrison; Darien was held by Scotch Highlanders; Ebenezer, twenty-five miles above Savannah, was colonized by the Salzburgers; while Augusta was founded by Indian traders from Charlestown and was, in fact, a Carolina town upon the Georgia side of the river. The "charity" colonists were the least thrifty, the most abusive of Oglethorpe and the trustees, and so clamorous for slaves that a Georgia writer has spoken of them as "the negro maniacs at Savannah."

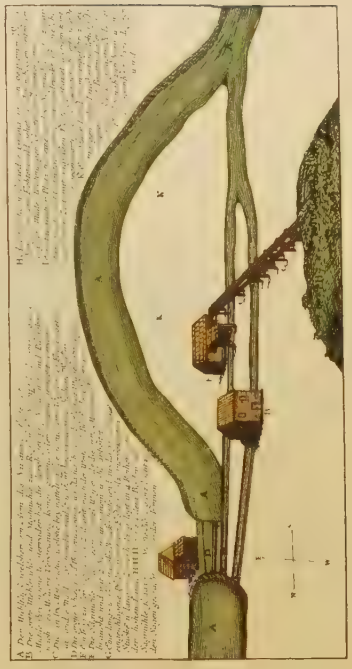
The Wesleys

Charles Wesley did not long continue on friendly terms with the governor and his brother seems to have been disappointed in his hopes of converting large numbers of the Indians to the faith of his Master. John

P A R T O F
Ein Theil von
C A R O L I N A
Carolina
Fort Augusta
Saltcatchers
Wilkinson
Pallachocola
Ottes I
St Michaels I
Trenches I
Dawhoskee I
SAVANNAH SOUND
Tybee I
Wassa I
Ossabaw I.
St Katherines I
YAMACRAW
INDIANS
Sapella I
St Simons I
Cr St Simons I
St Simons F
Cumberland I
Amelia I.
Talbot I
St AUGUSTINE
Nota
Die auf beyden Abrissen bezeichnete Figuren bedeuten die Klafftern bey der Ebbe auf den Sandbancken, und bey der Fluth ist das Wasser vier Klafftern tieff auf dem Sekel-Sand, und auf dem Ebbe Sand ist das Wasser 4 Klafftern tieff, Uber beyde Sand bäncke aber und bey beyden Wassern können Schiffe von 4 Canonen gantz sicher gehen und vor Ancker liegen.
M Eine Klaffter ist Sechs Fuss
St Simons F
JEKYL ISLE
A Scale of Mile
ATLANTIC OCEAN

FACSIMILE OF A CONTEMPORARY GERMAN M
AND THE MILL

(The original of these is a folio sheet, apparently fro
Augsburg, between the years 1738 a
Dr. Julius F. Sachse



(The mill is shown at *R* on plan of New Ebenezer)

F Georgia, a Plan of New Ebenezer,
EW Ebenezer

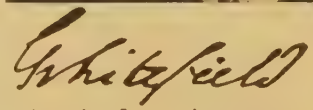
ection of maps, published by Matthew Seutter, at
. Reproduced by permission of
of the original)

Wesley, then an ordained priest of the established church of England, was not popular at Savannah, where, as Southey says, "he drenched his parishioners with the physic of an intolerant discipline." Moreover, he was a victim of unrequited love. He left Savannah in December, 1737, arrived in England in the following February, dated his conversion on the twenty-fourth of May, 1738, and began the great work that was nothing less than a tidal wave in the religious life of two continents. 1737 1740

George Whitefield

January, 1739

At the call of the Wesleys, George Whitefield sailed from England and arrived at Savannah in May, 1738. He soon returned to England where he was ordained a priest. The trustees for Georgia gave him the living of Savannah and land for the orphanage that he desired to establish, but his teachings and especially his association with dissenters caused most of the English clergy to turn their faces from him. When church of England churches were denied him, he for the first time preached in the meeting-houses of dissenters. On his return to Savannah in January, 1740, he established the orphans' home for which, in all his wanderings, he never ceased to solicit aid. Differences of doctrine separated him from the Wesleys and he became the founder of the Calvinistic Methodists. He made seven visits to America and died at Newburyport, in 1770.



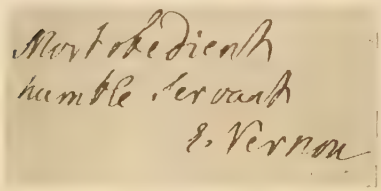
Military Preparation

Convinced that war with Spain was inevitable, Oglethorpe again returned to England. In 1737, he was appointed commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in South Carolina and Georgia. Funds were low in the treasury of the trustees and Oglethorpe pledged his personal credit for the security of the frontier and the welfare of the settlers. He raised a regiment of about six

1738–1742 hundred men and, before the end of 1738, returned to Georgia where his soldiers completed the fortress at Frederica.

Oglethorpe Attacks Saint Augustine

England declared war against Spain in October, 1739, and in November, Edward Vernon, with an English fleet, was in the West India waters. Assembling his Georgia forces and adding to them Indian allies and troops from South Carolina, Oglethorpe advanced, with a mixed army of more than two thousand men and an expectation of assistance from British war vessels, for the capture of Saint Augustine. He intended to attack by land and by sea and believed that the town could be taken sword in hand. The expedition was a failure in every particular and, by the end of July, Oglethorpe was back at Frederica.



Autograph of Admiral Vernon

May, 1740

Spanish Retaliation

Don Manuel de Monteano, the governor of Saint Augustine, urged the governor-general at Cuba to strike a retaliatory blow, and Oglethorpe made careful preparation to resist the coming fury. Late in June, 1742, Monteano appeared with a fleet of more than fifty vessels and a force of about five thousand men. Oglethorpe had a few forts, a schooner, and a few armed sloops. The Highlanders came from Darien, indented servants were released, and faithful Indian allies answered the call to oppose the Spaniards for whom, with good reason, they had a healthy hatred. Thus Oglethorpe collected six hundred and fifty with whom to face five thousand.

Oglethorpe's Naval Victory

To reinforce Fort William at the southern end of Cumberland Island, Oglethorpe set out with three small boats and two companies of men. As they were crossing Saint Andrew Sound, the Spanish galleys bore down upon them and one of the three boats put back. With the other two, Oglethorpe cut his way through the Spanish eleven, sinking some and disabling others—"nor lost a single man." After reinforcing Fort William and further strengthening it with men and guns from Fort

Saint Andrew at the other end of the island, he returned in safety to Saint Simon and roused his little army to enthusiasm. A few days later, the Spanish fleet forced its way past the English ships and batteries and Oglethorpe fell back upon Frederica. 1742

McKay's Trap

The Spanish fleet prudently came to anchor four miles down the bay where five thousand men were set ashore that Frederica might be attacked in the rear. The road thence northward to the town lay for some distance between an impassable morass and a tangled wood, bending to form a crescent-shaped defile. When the advancing Spaniards drove the English into this pass, Lieutenant McKay, with a few Highlanders and Indians, took advantage of the bend in the road and suddenly disappeared into the forest tangle. As the Spaniards marched by, no fluttering plaid or rustling leaf gave token of the foe that they were leaving in their rear. The Spaniards had not broken their night's fast and were weary. Veterans though they were, the three hundred stacked their arms and threw themselves upon the grass for brief hilarity and rest. Upon this pretty scene, like a lightning flash at midday, came a sharp discharge of musketry, then another and another. Death laid hold of many and wild panic seized the rest.

Snaps up Three Hundred

A Strategic Marvel

Learning that a French deserter had told the Spaniards that their forces outnumbered the English seven or eight to one, Oglethorpe resorted to a stratagem to meet the new emergency. He wrote a letter to the deserter directing him to tell the Spaniards that Frederica was almost defenseless; to conceal the facts that two thousand men were on the way from Charlestown, that an English fleet was near at hand, and that Admiral Vernon was already on his way to attack Saint Augustine, thus to detain the Spanish forces at Saint Simon for a few days more; and promising to double the reward that he had already received. A Spanish prisoner was set free with a heavy bribe for the delivery of the letter to the Frenchman in the Spanish camp. As Oglethorpe intended, the letter fell into Monteano's hands. The

1721 Spanish troops were hurried on board the ships and all sail was spread for Saint Augustine. Oglethorpe played the game to its end by chasing out of the sound an enemy that he did not dare to attack. Monteano was covered with disgrace, Oglethorpe retrieved the credit lost at Saint Augustine, and England saved two provinces. In 1743, Oglethorpe returned to England. He never returned to the province he had founded.

Nicholson in South Carolina

Close on the heels of the South Carolina revolution of 1719, came, in 1721, our old friend Francis Nicholson, now Sir Francis, as the first royal governor of the province. In the government of a royal province there were but two parties, the colonists and the crown. Between these parties there was no definite agreement, no unchanging charter. The government was such as the king imposed. In this case, the scheme prepared for South Carolina was in the form of "instructions" for the governor. The ninety-six sections of this document constituted the foundation of the government as long as South Carolina remained under royal rule.

Change Without Gain

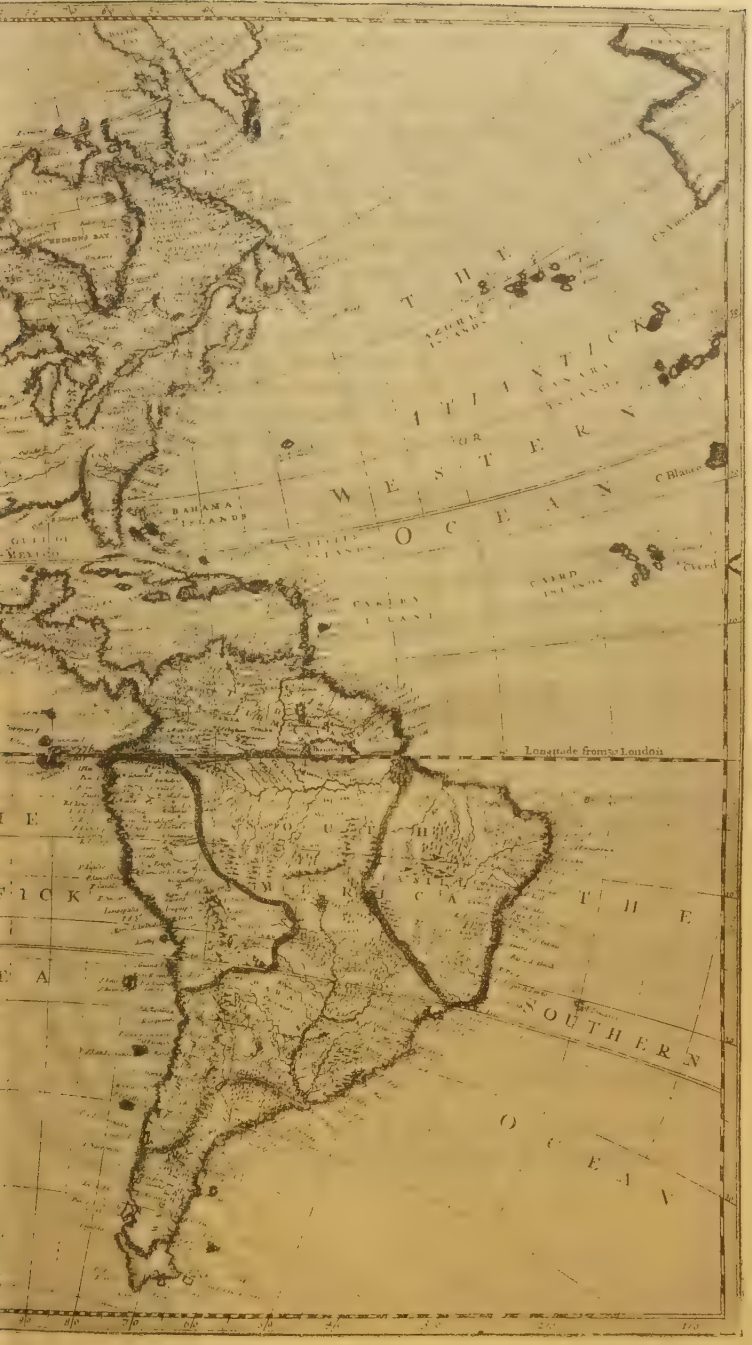
The legislative power was equally divided between the council and the assembly. The council consisted of

Royal Seal of South Carolina

twelve persons nominated by the governor by whom they might also be suspended. Upon emergency, three

John Senex's Map of N

(Published in *A New and*



TH AND SOUTH AMERICA
al Atlas, London, 1721)

councilors with the governor were a quorum. Thus the governor and three of his chosen friends could balk the wishes of the freemen as expressed through their representatives. The assembly was clothed with most of the powers of the English house of commons although there were several important and significant restrictions. For instance, Nicholson's instructions contained the radical provision that "the council have the like power of framing or allowing money bills as the assembly." No public money was to be expended except by the advice of the council and the warrant of the governor and books of account were to be sent to England for inspection every half year or oftener. By a revolution, the colonists had changed their masters. 1721

Nicholson Begins his Rule

Nicholson was warmly received at Charlestown and soon sent Colonel Barnwell to build a fort on the Altamaha. He also issued writs for the election of a new assembly. When the members assembled, they chose their late revolutionary governor, James Moore, as the speaker of the house and the royal governor gave the choice his official approbation. After that, came legislation for ending all litigation growing out of Moore's revolutionary administration and for confirming the judicial proceedings of the same period. We have no record of royal disapproval of this legislative approval of an accomplished revolution.

Trott and Rhett

Chief among the leaders of the late proprietary party were Nicholas Trott, long time chief-justice, judge of the vice-admiralty court, president of the council, and often acting governor, and his brother-in-law and efficient ally, William Rhett. They had shown great skill and power in controlling elections by the people and had successfully managed the secretary who managed the proprietors. There is no doubt that they were competent judges of the feelings of the people and, in 1719, Colonel Rhett had prophesied that if this "revolt is not cropt in the bud, they will set up for themselves against his majesty."

Rhett and Moore

Rhett seems to have had a genius for holding office, being simultaneously receiver-general for the proprietors,

1721–1727 controller of customs for the king, and overseer of the fortifications of Charlestown under the revolutionary administration of Governor Moore. In October, 1721, Nicholson wrote of Rhett as an "insolent fellow and a cheating scoundrel." Before many months, he reported to Lord Carteret that "old Rhett is dead of apoplexy." In the following month, James Moore also died. In April, 1725, Nicholson sailed for England where he died in 1728.

January 14, 1723

Middleton and Carteret

When Nicholson returned to England, the duties of his office fell to the president of the council, Arthur Middleton, who styled himself president and commander-in-chief. The difficulties that Nicholson had experienced were now intensified. Middleton's protestations in behalf of the king's prerogative did not carry much weight with those who had followed his lead as a revolutionist in 1719 and Lord Carteret was in high office in England. In fact, Carteret was simultaneously administering the affairs of the colony for George I. as one of the English secretaries of state and claiming the colony for himself as palatine under the charter granted by Charles II.

Paper Money

The fort that Colonel Barnwell had built on the Altamaha was destroyed by fire and the assembly refused to raise the money needed to rebuild it unless they were permitted to issue bills of credit for the purpose. In December, 1726, the lower house voted for such an issue and the president and council negatived the action. Then came riots and threats against the council and a proclamation from the commander-in-chief.

Spanish and French Neighbors

After the burning of the fort on the Altamaha, the garrison was removed to Port Royal and the southern frontier of Carolina was left open to the Yamasee incursions that the Spaniards instigated. When the assembly received an executive message urging provision for the security of the frontier, the delegates "refused to allow the danger of foreign invasion to frighten them from insisting upon their domestic rights." For three years, no laws were passed and, for four years, no taxes were collected and no court of justice was held in the colony.

September 1, 1727

The assembly was six times dissolved; that many times the same representatives were sent back. Eight times 1731

Map of South Carolina, 1730

was the same bill passed by the assembly and rejected by the council. The deadlock continued until the crown bought the Carolinas.

When he had secured the property rights of the Carolina proprietors, the king quickly put an end to the provisional government and sent back Robert Johnson to establish a regular royal administration. Middleton, who, as speaker of the assembly, had forced Johnson, the proprietary governor, to surrender his office to a revolutionary governor, now had to give way for the same Johnson as the first full royal governor of South Carolina. It was a great triumph for Johnson although the council was appointed by the king and the governor was little more than the agent of the board of trade. Governor Johnson's Return December, 1719

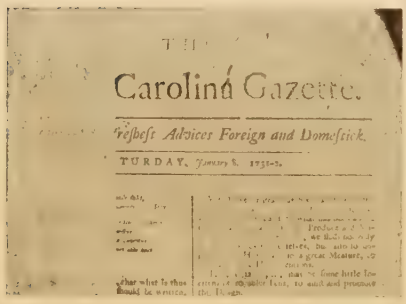
Energetic efforts were now begun for securing an increased immigration to the province. Settlers were thus drawn from Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. Some of the Swiss were lured to the lower Savannah by rose colored tracts sent Immigrants

1731–1734 out from Charlestown by Jean Pierre Pury. As the settlement at Purysbourg was not long continued, it has been common to speak of Pury as a baronial colonizer with a fascinating imagination, but I have an extract* from the archives of the community of Sonceboz in the canton of Berne in Switzerland, according to which

August 5, 1733 "We the undersigned inhabitants of Purysbourg in southern Carolina, in community today assembled, attest in good faith" that the description published by Pury was "conformable with truth . . . and that our very dear and honored Colonel Mr. Pury has been to us a father and protector on all sorts of occasions." About 1734, Georgetown was laid out, the third town in the province.

A Newspaper

For a dozen years, the general assembly of the province had been seeking a printer with a "plain handsome set of letters," presses, and the other necessary appliances of his craft. The search seems to have been unsuccessful until the latter half of the year 1731, when George Webb, Eleazer Phillips Jr., and Thomas Whitmarsh established plants in the province and entered into sharp competition for the appropriation of a thousand pounds made for the public printing in the preceding May. Phillips, formerly of Boston, soon began the publication of *The South Carolina Weekly Journal*, conducted it for six months, and died in the following July.


Carolina Gazette.
Heading of the First Number of *The South Carolina Gazette*

In January, 1732, Whitmarsh, an Englishman, issued the first number of *The South Carolina Gazette.* Whit-

September 22, 1733 marsh died in the following year but, at the beginning of 1734, the paper was revived by Lewis Timothy of Philadelphia. Save for two interruptions during the trying times of the American revolution, the *Gazette* was

*This extract was kindly sent to me by Dr. Adolph F. A. Bandelier.

published continuously until 1802, when it was finally suspended. 1731–1735

The increase in the number of negroes and the profits of rice planting led to a great increase in the value of land and to consequent speculation. Governor Johnson was instructed to put a stop to the system of large land grants and to reserve the soil for those who intended to settle and improve it. From the issue thus joined, arose a controversy that involved the rights of the provincial judiciary and the possibilities of *habeas corpus*. One Job Rothmaller was charged with having run out lands illegally and the commons house of assembly ordered Rothmaller and Thomas Cooper, the deputy-surveyor, into custody. Chief-justice Robert Wright granted Cooper a writ of *habeas corpus*. At this the commons took offense, ordered both of Cooper's attorneys into custody, and resolved that the messenger of the house should not make any return to the writ or yield any obedience to it. They also declared that they would have punished the chief-justice had he not been a member of the council and therefore under its protection. As the best thing possible under the circumstances, they cut off his salary and passed an act that provided that no public officer should be subject to suit or penalty for neglecting a writ of *habeas corpus* in such cases. The act was referred to the board of trade and plantations and the king in council disallowed it. The home government was not willing to admit that a provincial assembly was more potent than the English parliament.

Land Speculation

Habeas Corpus

April 7, 1733

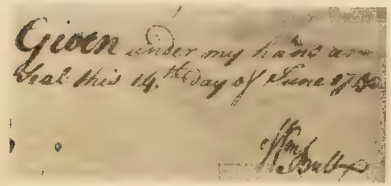
Governor Johnson died in May, 1735, and the government was assumed by Thomas Broughton, the lieutenant-governor. In his short administration the constitutional struggle was continued. The commons house passed a bill to provide for the expenses of the current year and sent it to the council for its concurrence. As authorized by the instructions given by the king to Nicholson, the council added an item and returned the amended bill. The delegates were roused to a prompt declaration of their rights and insisted that the claim of the council consti-

Thomas Broughton

1737–1740 tuted an infringement on the privileges of the house. The commons remained firm and a supply bill was not passed until the following year. In this there was a clear assertion of a constitutional limitation to the powers of his majesty.

William Bull — Father and Son

As Arthur Middleton, the president of the council, died on the sixth of September, 1737, and Lieutenant-governor Broughton on the twenty-second of November, the administration of the government devolved upon William Bull, the senior member of the council. In April, 1739, his commission as lieutenant-governor and that of General Oglethorpe as commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in South Carolina and Georgia were published with much formality at Charlestown. The two officials had become acquainted as previously recorded. From 1740 to 1742, William Bull junior, as speaker of the house, signed acts of the assembly, and his father, William Bull senior, assented to them as lieutenant-governor. This period was marked by distress and disaster, smallpox in 1738, yellow fever and a negro insurrection in 1739, and, in 1740, Oglethorpe's unsuccessful attack on Saint Augustine and a fire that destroyed much of Charlestown.

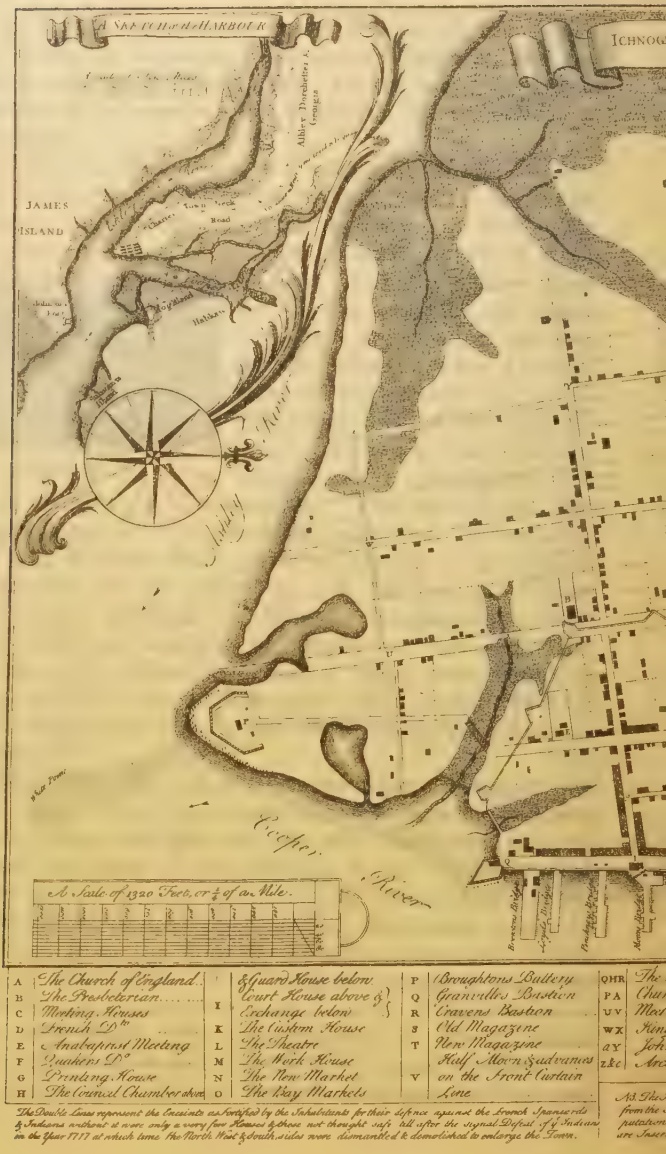


Autograph of William Bull Sr.

A Legislative Compromise

Meantime, the chronic constitutional struggle was kept warm. The lower house insisted upon its exclusive right to shape tax bills, but war with Spain was looming up and the safety of the province forced a compromise. It was agreed that the council should make known to the commons the desired amendments, which then might be proposed from the floor of the lower house and considered by that body. The delegates accepted the compromise and entered on their journal a declaration of "the undoubted right and privilege of the commons house of assembly to have the first commencement and sole modeling of all laws for imposing taxes and levying

April 10, 1739



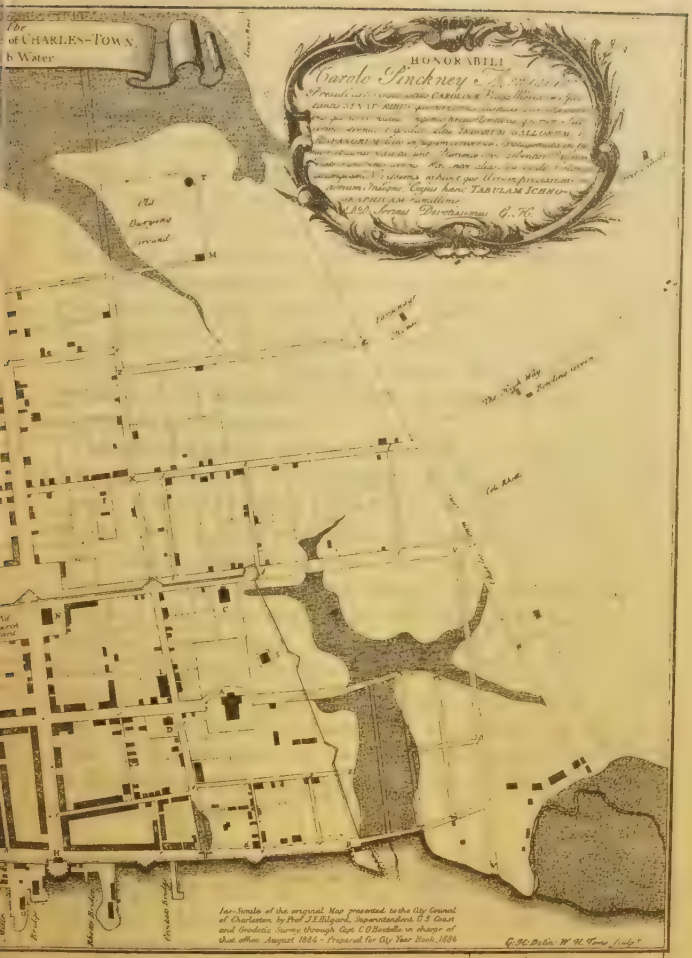
A	The Church of England	I	& Guard House below	P	Broughtons Battery	QHR	The
B	The Presbeterian		Court House above &	Q	Granvilles Bastion	PA	Chur
C	Meeting Houses		Exchange below	R	Cravens Bastion	UV	Mee
D	French Dº	K	The Custom House	S	Old Magazine	WX	Kin
E	Anabaptist Meeting	L	The Theatre	T	New Magazine	aY	Jew
F	Quakers Dº	M	The Work House		Half Moon & advance	z&c	Arc
G	Printing House	N	The New Market	V	on the Front Curtain		
H	The Council Chamber above	O	The Way Markets		Lone		

The Double Lines represent the Lines as fortified by the Inhabitants for their Defence against the French Spaniards & Indians without it were only a very few Houses & those not thought safe till after the signal Defeat of y Indians in the Year 1717 at which time the North West & South sides were dismantled & demolished to enlarge the Town.

As The... from the ... plantation... are Inser...

CHARLES

(Reproduced from the *Year*


of CHARLES-TOWN
h Water
HONORABILI
Carolo Pinckney
Fort Johnson
Castle Pinckney
Old Work
Old Line
Old Line
Old Work
Half Moon
Horse Shoe
Ravelin
Ravelin
Half Moon
Half Moon
Ravelin
Ravelin
Half Moon
Half Moon
Ravelin
Ravelin
Half Moon
Half Moon

and raising aids of money upon the people for the support of his majesty's government in this province." 1739 1743

On the following day, the upper house entered upon its journal a declaration that "the governor or commander-in-chief being present during the debates of this house is of an unparliamentary nature. It is therefore resolved that we will not enter into a debate during his presence." The order proved effective and, in spite of the royal instructions, the governor of South Carolina was thus deprived of legislative powers except that his approval was still necessary to the validity of an act of the assembly. It has been claimed that South Carolina was the first of the English colonies in America to distinguish and to separate the three great coördinate departments of government. A Tripartite Division of Government April 11, 1739

"Last Saturday arrived here in the Tartar man-of-war, commanded by Captain Ward, his Excellency, James Glen, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province and Vice Admiral of the same." Thus runs the record printed in the *Gazette*. On the day of his arrival, Governor Glen issued his proclamation and assumed the administration of the government. As cause or coincidence, his coming was the beginning of an era of prosperity for South Carolina. The planting of indigo supplemented rice cultivation and, in spite of war, pestilence, and fire, the colony was growing rich. "Frugal planters doubled their capital every three or four years, and the progress toward independence and opulence was rapid." Governor Glen December 19, 1743

In 1731, the late proprietary governor, George Burrington, came back as the first royal governor of North Carolina. He took the oath of office on the twenty-fifth of February and his first legislature met on the thirteenth of the following April. The second session was in July, 1733, and the third, in November, 1734. The governor quarreled with his council, the judges, and the assembly, and wrote back to England that the people of North Carolina were subtle and crafty to admiration, they could North Carolina's Royal Governor

1731–1734 be neither outwitted nor cajoled, they always behaved insolently to their governors, and maintained that their money could not be taken from them save by appropriation made by their own house of assembly — a body that had always usurped more power than they ought to be allowed.

Burrington's Removal and Death

The council minutes of the last meeting held before the arrival of Gabriel Johnston, Governor Burrington's successor, show that on the fifteenth of April, 1734, Nathaniel Rice, the oldest councilor, assumed the administration of the government in consequence of the departure of Governor Burrington from the province. This is probably the foundation for the common statement that Burrington returned to England in 1734. In fact, Burrington was in North Carolina and acting as governor from June 1, 1734, until the twelfth of November following, when he and the North Carolina assembly received notice of the arrival of Governor Johnston. The records of the board of trade in England show that Burrington was in frequent communication with them until December, 1736. The oft-repeated story that, in 1734, he returned to England and was, soon after his arrival there, found in Saint James Park in London, killed in a drunken brawl, is probably untrue. It seems to have been proved that, a quarter of a century later, he died at the age of nearly eighty.

Governor Johnston

November 12, 1734

Gabriel Johnston, the new governor, was a man of letters who owed his appointment to Lord Wilmington, his patron. He took up the duties of his office immediately upon his arrival and thus began an eighteen years' contest with a people who had been schooled in opposition by two generations of mismanagement and who appear fairly to have won for North Carolina the eulogy in which it is described as a land "where they pay no tribute to God or to Cæsar." The foundations of Johnston's enviable reputation are not as sure as has generally been supposed. During his administration, North Carolina advanced toward prosperity but the beginning had been made before his coming and it is claimed that, in

spite of good intentions and fair promises, the growth of the province was retarded rather than helped by his arbitrary disposition and unscrupulous methods. 1734

The salaries of the governor and the other crown officials were to be paid from quit-rents the collection of which properly depended upon legislative enactments. When the assembly fell below his expectation, Johnston prorogued that body in Cromwellian fashion and attempted to collect the rents on his own authority and in his own way. The settlers resisted the attempt and the reassembled legislature denied the legality of the action and imprisoned the officers who had seized goods for rents. Thereupon, Johnston again prorogued the assembly. He never forgot that he was the representative of the king and never failed to magnify royal prerogative. As in the other colonies, the struggle for satisfactory salaries for royal governors became one of the most interesting features of the history of this period. Quit-rents March, 1736

In 1736, Governor Johnston deplored the fact that no care had been taken "to inspire the youth with generous sentiments, worthy principles, or the least tincture of literature." Although he was "a man of letters," this seems to be the only time that he called the attention of the North Carolina legislature to the subject of education. It is probable that tutors were employed for families and neighborhoods but, until 1754, no act was passed for establishing a public seminary and that act failed for lack of royal assent. In the whole period of royal rule in North Carolina we read of only two schools, one at Edenton and one at Newbern. Education

In 1735, the boundary line between the Carolinas was run northwesterly from the ocean. In 1737, it was extended in the same direction to a stake in a meadow, erroneously supposed to be at the intersection of that course with the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude. In 1738, commissioners ran the line westward to the Pedee. By this time, the original coast counties of Albemarle, Bath, and Clarendon had disappeared from the map. Five of the six Albemarle precincts became counties in 1729, the Geographical

1734 year in which seven of the Carolina proprietors surrendered their rights and interests to the crown. The sixth

Map of North Carolina, Showing Counties and Precincts in 1737

precinct was transferred to Bath County from which arose, in 1729, the new counties of Hyde, Beaufort, Carteret, and Craven. Clarendon had been abandoned in 1690. New Hanover precinct took its place and, in 1729, became a county with the same name. To these ten counties, others were added as the inland population increased.

Representation

When Johnston began his administration, each of the precincts or counties that had been made from Albemarle sent five delegates to the lower house of the assembly, while each of the counties that had been carved from Bath sent only two. The legislature now met not at Edenton, but at Wilmington named for the governor's patron, or at Newbern, or elsewhere. In fact, it is charged that Johnston felt free to convoke the assembly in out-of-the-way places and at times when his opponents

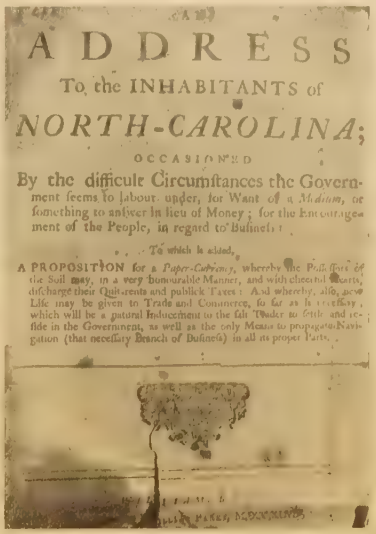
could not be present and he admitted that "some of the most troublesome leading men were prevailed on to be absent." Still he could not control the members with whom he quarreled continuously and seems to have been in favor with neither the people of the province nor the government in England. In 1746, he convoked the assembly at Wilmington, knowing that the members from the northern counties would not be there. Without a quorum, the representation of the older counties was reduced from five members each to two. Johnston signed the bill thus passed and sent it to England for approval as if it had received the sanction of a majority of a quorum of a duly constituted legislature.

1734
1746

November 18

Taxation

At the next election, the northern counties chose the usual number of delegates. Their election was declared void and, for eight years, these counties were without representation in the assembly. Being without representation, their inhabitants refused to pay taxes or to serve as jurors and were persistently defiant. This condition was continued until two years after Johnston's death. The eight years' insistence of these people upon "no taxation without representation" clearly foreshadowed the course that they were soon to follow in the conflict that the reader of this history has long been anticipating.


A D D R E S S
To the INHABITANTS of
NORTH-CAROLINA;
OCCASIONED
By the difficult Circumſtances the Govern-
ment ſeems to labour under, for Want of a Medium, or
ſomething to anſwer in lieu of Money; for the Encourage-
ment of the People, in regard to Buſineſs.
To which is added,
A PROPOSITION for a Paper-Currency, whereby the Proſperity of
the Soil may, in a very honourable Manner, and with cheerful Hearts,
diſcharge their Quit-rents and publick Taxes: And whereby, alſo, new
Life may be given to Trade and Commerce, ſo far as is neceſſary,
which will be a natural Inducement to the full Trade to Settle and re-
ſide in the Governments, as well as the only Means to propagate Navi-
gation (that neceſſary Branch of Buſineſs) in all its proper Parts.

Title-page of *An Address to the Inhabitants of North Carolina*, 1746

CHAPTER XXV

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND

1715
1745

Beyond the Mountains

December 15, 1710

WHEN Alexander Spotswood came as governor of Virginia in 1710, fifty miles intervened between the frontier of the colony and the peaks of the Blue Ridge. Soon after his arrival, he wrote that the James River made its way through the mountains and that the people, if encouraged to do so, "would soon carry on their Settlements to ye very Source of that River, and . . . that it would not be in the power of the French to dislodge them, especially considering how much further they must travell than we to come at that place." Spotswood was not the man to stare stupidly at the Appalachian blockade while traditional enemies and their Indian allies were sending their canoes over all the waterways between Quebec and New Orleans, the commercial ends of the two great arteries that led thence to the very heart of the continent. In 1716, he resolved to make a personal visit to the mountains.

Spotswood's Expedition

Mud, Medicine, and Menu

At Spotswood's estate at Germanna the horses were shod. Horseshoes were not common in tidewater Virginia and the incident gave a name to the expedition. On the twenty-ninth of August, the governor led his company westward. As is recorded in John Fontaine's journal of the expedition, every day's march was enlivened by the chase and, at night, the stores of "red wine and white wine, Irish Usquebaugh, brandy, shrub, two sorts of rum, champagne, canary, cherry punch, water, cider, etc.,"

were mingled with game and story, song and laughter. 1716 After drinking to the health of King George and the royal family at the top of the Blue Ridge, the explorers descended into the valley of the Shenandoah. Here, with ceremonious salute and an appeal to their store of creature comforts, they took possession of the "Valley of Virginia" in the name of the English monarch, attested the assumption in writing, and buried the record in one of the emptied bottles—an ingenious method of concealing the fact from any explorer who might come after. Spotswood had anticipated, by a third of a century, Céloron de Bienville and his lead plates, of which more anon. After nearly a month's absence, the picturesque party was back at Williamsburg. This hilarious invasion of the wilderness was commemorated by Spotswood's gift of a golden horseshoe to each of his companions, the so-called institution of the order of the "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe." Although it was sixteen years before the ax of the pioneer was heard on the shores of the Shenandoah, the "horseshoe expedition" broke down the barrier that had checked the westward expansion of English America.

Map of Spotswood's Route

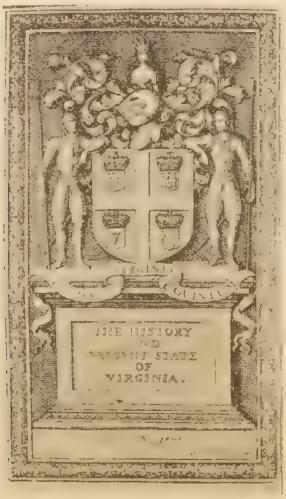
September 6

The Golden Horseshoe

Spotswood's letters clearly show his low estimate of the qualifications of the burgesses, "men of the meaner sort," many of whom were in office only for the sake of the salary—an unconscious tribute to the legislator of that day. Having given offense to the democratic house of burgesses, Spotswood attacked the power of the aristocratic council. Thus offended, the assembly, under the lead of Commissary Blair, sent William Byrd of Westover as agent to England to press charges against the governor. Byrd's remonstrance to the board of trade plainly

Spotswood's Enemies

1718 shows the vigilance with which encroachments of arbi-
1726 trary power were guarded against by the representatives of the people. About this time, Spotswood sent Lieutenant Maynard of the royal navy to capture the pirate "Blackbeard," as recorded in an earlier chapter.



Engraved Title-page of Robert Beverly's *History of Virginia*, 1722

The warriors of the Five Nations had committed many depredations as they marched along the frontier to or from their attacks on the southern tribes and, in August, 1722, Spotswood met their representatives at Albany. By a treaty then effected, the Iroquois agreed not to enter the region south of the Potomac and east of the Blue Ridge without a passport from the governor of New York. Soon after this conference with the Indians, the governor's enemies succeeded in obtaining his removal from office. In the dozen years covered by his administration, Virginia had rapidly advanced in commercial prosperity and political importance.

Spotswood's Removal

Spotswood's Death

After his fall from office, Spotswood continued to live in Virginia. At his "enchanted castle" at Germanna or at his Yorktown "Temple Farm," he maintained the courtly state of his time and rank. He died at Annapolis in 1740. After Spotswood, the next governor was Hugh Drysdale, "one of the great obscure who is lost to memory." Drysdale died in July, 1726, and was succeeded by the president of the council, Colonel Robert Carter, who was at the head of the government for a little more than a year.

Drysdale and "King" Carter

Governor Gooch

George I. died in June, 1727. In the following October, William Gooch, a Scotchman who had seen service

under Marlborough, became governor of Virginia. His administration lasted twenty-two years. The period was marked by the increasing power of the assembly and by the westward movement that followed Spotswood's expedition. For five years, the Virginia state papers consist largely of petitions for land grants. For instance, William Beverly wrote to "beg ye favour of you to get me an order at the first Council held after you receive this for fifteen thousand acres of Land lying on both sides of the main River of Shenondore to include an old field, called and known by ye name of Massanutting Town." 1727 1737 April, 1732

About 1732, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians followed the valleys southward from the mountain region of Pennsylvania and settled along Opequon Creek. Their "Tuscarora meeting-house" near Martinsburg and "Opequon church" a little south of Winchester are still standing, the oldest in the valley. On their heels or just ahead, were German Lutherans, Mennonites, and Calvinists, some of whom obtained forty thousand acres in the vicinity of Winchester and dotted the valley with their rude log cabins and huge red barns and built Strasburg, Hamburg, and other towns. About this time, another band of Scotch-Irish immigrants made their homes further up the valley. John Lewis, one of a Huguenot family that had taken refuge in Ireland, obtained the grant of about half of what is now Rockbridge County and, in 1737, brought over about a hundred families from Ireland and Scotland. Calvinists of the strictest sect, their homes and churches rose side by side. Devoted to the arts of peace and deeds of piety, they bred a line of soldiers who, from the days of Andrew Lewis to those of "Stonewall" Jackson, The Scotch Invasion of the Valley The German Corps Blood will Tell

Statue of Andrew Lewis

1733 made the valley of Virginia famous in the military annals
1738 of two centuries.

Enterprise and Growth

While persecution was busy in Europe, the Virginia authorities and their land-grant beneficiaries sent to Ireland, England, and Germany glowing advertisements of the beauty and fertility of the valley of Virginia and of the easy terms on which homes there might be secured. In consequence of these promises of wealth, a steadily advancing human tide moved up the lowland rivers, through the gaps of the Blue Ridge, and thence swept down into intermontane Virginia. Under the lead of

1738

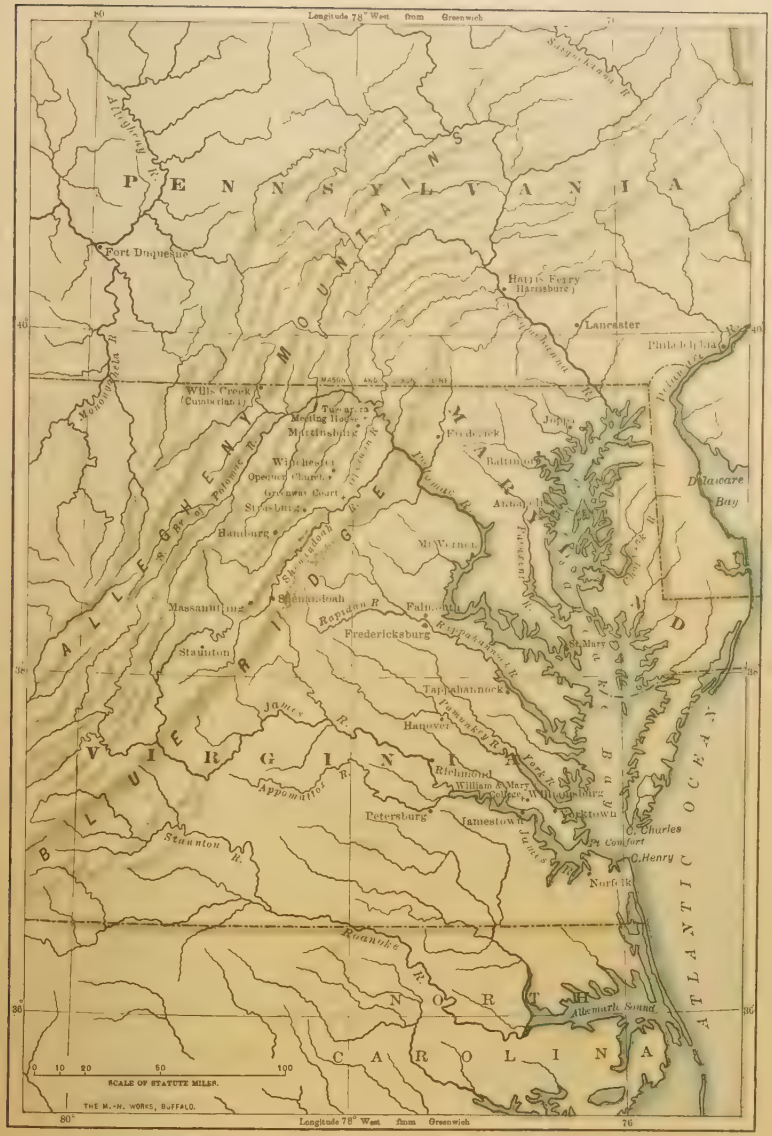
John Caldwell and with the coöperation of the synod of Philadelphia, many Presbyterians and a few Quakers moved to "the back parts of Virginia" and made new

Virginia Towns

homes in Charlotte and adjacent counties. Although "cohabitation acts" had failed, towns sprang up where they were needed and ports grew at the demands of commerce. At the falls of the James, Richmond was begun by Colonel William Byrd in 1733 and incorporated in 1742; on the Rappahannock, Fredericksburg and Falmouth; on the Appomattox, Petersburg. Jamestown, the old capital, had been effaced. Williamsburg, the new capital, was a straggling village of about two hundred houses. Norfolk, with a population of about seven thousand, was the only considerable town. The earl of Orkney, titular governor of Virginia, died in 1737 and the earl of Albemarle was appointed his successor. Horace Walpole says: "It was convenient to him to be anywhere but in England."

William Byrd of Westover

A New Titular Governor



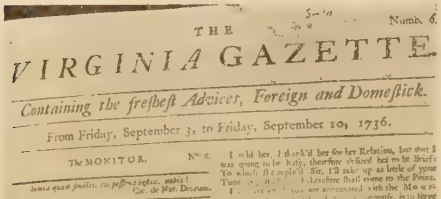
Map of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.

1736–1744 The Great Awakening

Mr. Cooke, a Virginia historian, tells us that the Virginians of that day "were earnestly attached to their church and religion: they would fight for it, and, if necessary, die for it; but living in accordance with its precepts was quite a different thing," and that "some of the clergy were little better than the people." Whitefield preached at Williamsburg and other towns in 1740; the "great awakening" was followed by "a good wholesome persecution." The "New Light" preachers denounced the delinquencies of the parish ministers and Governor Gooch delivered a charge to the grand jury against the itinerants.

A Virginia Journalist

In August, 1736, *The Virginia Gazette*, a small, dingy sheet, appeared — a possibility that Berkeley had deprecated and a thing that Culpeper and Effingham would not tolerate. The *Gazette* was published weekly by William Parks at Williamsburg at fifteen shillings the year. For a long time, it was the only newspaper in the colony. Parks was also public printer. His apology to the council, made in 1749 for an apparent neglect of duty, is so excessively humble as to invite contrast with the belligerent audacity of the modern journalist.


THE
VIRGINIA GAZETTE.
Containing the freshest Advices, Foreign and Domestick.
From Friday, September 3, to Friday, September 10, 1736.
THE MONITOR.

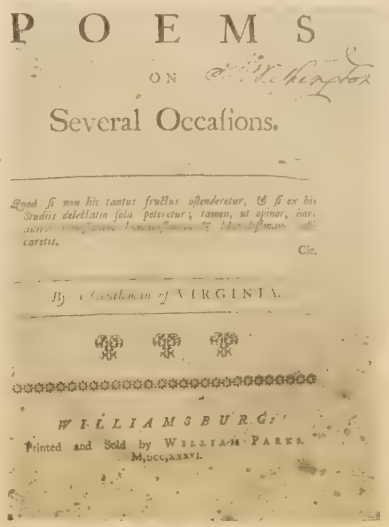
Heading of *The Virginia Gazette*

An Indian Treaty

In 1744, by a treaty made at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the Iroquois relinquished all lands "that are or shall be by his Majesty's appointment in the colony of Virginia," i.e., the country from the Virginia frontier to the Ohio River. The conference lasted several days; the chief mediator and interpreter was Conrad Weiser. At the grand banquet given by the English commissioners, the sachems "fed lustily, drank heartily, and were very greasy before they finished their dinner." This repast seems to have been preparatory to the serious business of the day. One of the secretaries of the conference and

July 2–12

the journalist thereof says: "I produced the engrossed release for the [Maryland] lands with the seals fixed. We were obliged to put about the glasses pretty briskly, and then Mr. Weiser interpreted the contents of it to the sachems." The combination of spirits and logic proved effective and the English secured their first real treaty hold upon the West. 1715


POEMS
ON
Several Occaſions.
Quod ſi non hic tantus fructus oſtenderetur, &c.
Cic.
By a Gentleman of VIRGINIA.
WILLIAMSBURG:
Printed and Sold by WILLIAM PARKS.
M,DCC,XXVI.

Title-page of the First Book Printed in Virginia (Washington's Personal Copy)

The Maryland Restoration

The Maryland charter had been suspended on the pretext that it was not safe to leave the province in Catholic hands; the renunciation of Catholicism by the fourth Lord Baltimore and the accession of his Protestant son to the proprietorship made it almost imperative upon George I. to restore the government to the fifth Lord Baltimore. The restitution was an apparent confirmation of the charter. In 1715, John Hart, who had been appointed governor by the crown, was given a new commission by the new proprietor. May 30

Residual Distrust

A still lingering fear that the proprietary Protestantism was a mere pretense was magnified when "some wicked, disloyal, and traiterous persons" fired an artillery salute in commemoration of the birth of the son of King James II. One of the convicted "traiters" was whipped and pilloried and others were fined and imprisoned. When a new commission was sent to Charles Carroll, who for twenty-five years had been the proprietor's agent in the province, Governor Hart represented him as "a professed Papist"

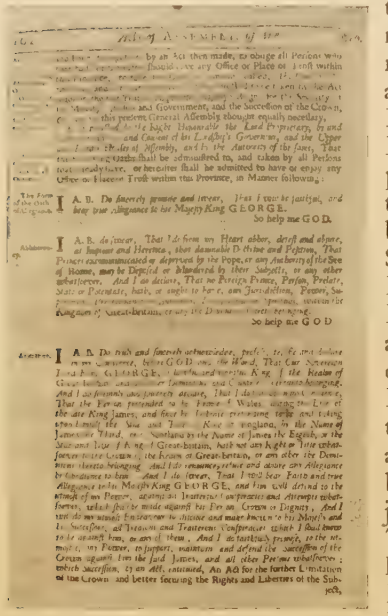
1716–1718 and reported to the assembly that the commission was "of so strange a nature that, under pretence of being his Lordship's agent, it included with his instructions, many essential parts of government." The governor threatened to resign; the assembly clipped the agent's powers and adopted an address that was "more loyal to Hart than to Baltimore."

July 1–, 1716

July 30

The Test Oaths

One of the consequences of this alarm was a statute of 1716 that required all persons holding office in the province to take the oaths of allegiance, abhorrency, and abjuration and to subscribe to the test against transubstantiation. The oath of allegiance required true allegiance to the king. The oath of abhorrency declared that "I do from my Heart abhor, detest and abjure . . . that damnable Doctrine and Position, That Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of Rome, may be Deposed or Murdered by their Subjects" and that "no Foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within the Kingdom of Great-Britain, or any [of] the Dominions thereto belonging." The third oath abjured the claims of the pretender. The lord proprietor approved the law. Thus the government of Maryland became exclusively Protestant. In 1718, it was enacted that "all professed Papists whatsoever be and hereby are declared incapable of giving their vote in any election of a delegate or delegates within this province." From that time until the



The Oaths of Allegiance, Abhorrency, and Abjuration

An Exclusively Protestant Government

American revolution, Maryland Catholics were taxed to sustain a religion that they believed to be heretical and to maintain a government in which they had no share. 1719–1722

The Recall of Governor Hart

In addition to his troubles with Carroll and the Catholics and the clergy, Governor Hart had a notable quarrel with the collector of customs and his attorney. Late in December, 1719, the proprietor ordered Hart to return to England. In October, 1720, Charles Calvert, a captain in the foot-guards and a relative of the proprietary, first met the Maryland assembly as the new governor of the province.

A Great Issue

The charter of Maryland, like those of the other English colonies except Pennsylvania, provided that all English subjects in the province should be esteemed as born within the kingdom of England, any statute or provision to the contrary notwithstanding. The Marylanders were therefore much inclined to claim the common law of England as their own and were little disposed to make any sharp distinction between it and English statute law where the latter was applicable to cases in which the provincial law was silent. In 1722, the assembly passed an act that recognized an English statute as Maryland law and the lower house adopted resolutions that were in fact a declaration of rights. The proprietary refused to concur in the act and the upper house refused to concur in the resolutions. Maryland was on the threshold of a conflict between the ways that were and those that were to be.

A Great Victory

From this time until the overthrow of the proprietary government, the standing resolutions of the lower house declared that "this province hath always hitherto had the common law and such general statutes of England as are not restrained by words of local limitation in them." After a decade of strife, the proprietor accepted an oath bill that became and remained law. The prescribed oath provided for the execution of law and right according to "the Acts of Assembly of this province so far forth as they provide; and when they are silent, according to the laws, statutes and reasonable customs of

1723–1733 England, as used and practised within this province"—a compromise that was a practical victory for the lower house. When, in 1776, the people of Maryland adopted their first state constitution, they wrote into it a declaration of their right "to the common law of England . . . and to the benefit of such of the English statutes as existed at the time of their first emigration," etc. A similar declaration has held its place in the successive Maryland constitutions until the present day.

County Schools

In 1723, the assembly passed an act for founding a school in each county. Poor pay assured incompetent teachers, public sympathy was not manifested and probably was not felt. It is interesting to read in the *Maryland Gazette* the offer of a five-pound reward for the capture of the Talbot County schoolmaster who had run away with two geldings and a negro slave. In 1750, the lower house of the assembly declared that the schools were failures. During the existence of the proprietary government, Maryland offered poor facilities for the education of her children.

August 16, 1745

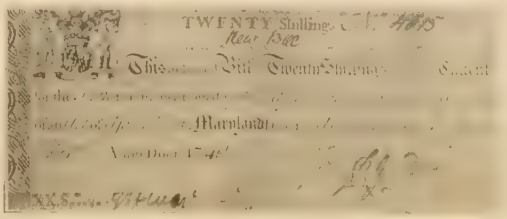
Benedict Leonard Calvert's Quadrennium 1727

Governor Charles Calvert died in 1726. His successor was Benedict Leonard Calvert, the proprietor's brother. In the year of his coming the *Maryland Gazette*, the first newspaper in the province, was printed at Annapolis. In 1730, Baltimore was laid out but, in spite of its excellent harbor and other advantages, it grew slowly. The early capital, Saint Marys, was fading away; Joppa had a brief prosperity before it dwindled to a solitary house and a grass-grown graveyard; Annapolis was the only real town. In 1731, broken in health, Benedict Leonard Calvert resigned. He died on his way to England. His successor was Samuel Ogle, an abler man and a more successful administrator.

Fiat Money and Border Warfare

From 1732 to 1734, the proprietor was in the province and governed in person. In 1733, Maryland tried the well-worn panacea of paper money and issued ninety thousand pounds. It was distributed by public expenditures and loans among the people. In 1732, the sons of William Penn, then joint proprietors of Pennsylvania,

secured a written agreement by which Lord Baltimore gave up about two and a half million acres south of the fortieth parallel, the line to which the Baltimores had claimed. Clearly overreached, the Maryland proprietor appealed to the king and the quarrel took on added bitterness. Sheriffs and posses from both provinces invaded the territory in dispute, men were beaten and imprisoned, and some blood was shed. Each foray provoked another, proclamation answered proclamation, and, with little exaggeration, the condition might be described as that of border warfare. It has been said that this is the only instance in America where one British colony made war upon another. In 1736, the king in council commanded peace and directed the proprietors to grant no lands in the disputed territory until the boundary had been adjusted.



Maryland Twenty-shilling Bill, 1745

Arms and Ammunition

One of the most important and interesting issues of Governor Ogle's first administration had as its storm-center the act for arms and ammunition. The struggle related chiefly to the division of the revenue derived from the duty on tobacco and involved the chronic question whether the salary of the colonial governor should depend on an annual appropriation or be provided for in some more reliable way. A certain law that appropriated the revenue from the threepence duty for arms and ammunition expired in 1733, when it was proposed to lay a similar duty for the same purpose. In spite of Ogle's urging, the lower house refused to pass the bill. Such a bill was passed in 1734 and seems to have been extended from year to year. When, in 1739, the upper house emphasized the fact that war was threatening in Europe, the lower house replied that "we do not think the revival of that law at present necessary."

1737
1749
Tactics

As the law respecting arms and ammunition was to continue until the end of the next session of the assembly and as a "meeting" was not called a "session" unless at least one act was passed, the governor refused his assent to all bills passed by the two houses and thus continued the collection of the threepence duty. In May, 1740, the lower house passed a bill for continuing the threepence duty until the twenty-ninth of September, 1741. As this termination of the proposed act at a definite date instead of the end of the next "session" would checkmate the governor's play, the upper house rejected the bill. The province had been without a "session" for nearly three years, but the delegates declared that this bill was the last means left by which they could procure frequent assemblies and were "firmly determined never to assent to any law of that kind with such an indefinite determination as you contend for."

Another Great Victory

After further wrangling, the lower house passed a supply bill for his majesty's service in the impending war. Neither the upper house nor the governor dared to reject it and so the assembly "meeting" of 1740 became a "session" and the arms and ammunition law of 1734 was terminated. In 1742, the proprietor instructed Thomas Bladen, the new governor, to withhold certain bills of the lower house until that body passed the arms and ammunition bill in an acceptable form, but the war came and was ended before any concession was made. In 1747, Ogle again became governor and, in the general good feeling that prevailed, the bill was passed. It was renewed in 1748 and expired in 1749. The bill for arms and ammunition never again became a law. The tactics of the governor and of the upper house and the proprietary power had been unavailing against the rising influence of the representatives of a determined people.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE MIDDLE COLONIES

SIR WILLIAM KEITH, deputy-governor of Pennsylvania and Delaware, had had a service as surveyor of customs that made him familiar with colonial affairs. This and a pleasing personal address gave him influence with an assembly that had been wearied by disputes with his predecessors. In spite of the disturbing litigation of the proprietors, his relations with the assembly remained amicable. Of the seventy-five acts passed by the assembly while Keith was governor, very few were annulled by the king. Meanwhile the Maryland boundary line was the source of constant irritation and Andrew Bradford, son of William, had begun the publication of *The American Weekly Mercury*, a small two-page sheet and the first newspaper printed in the middle colonies.

1719–1745 Governor Keith

1719

After the accession of the duke of York to the English throne, Penn's title to the lower counties hung only upon royal acquiescence. The failure of the king to take control is explained by the comparative unimportance of the interests involved. In 1715, Lord Sutherland had asked for the territory in payment of a claim against the government. When the Delaware settlers heard of the petition, they sent an address to Governor Keith saying that their interests and those of the proprietary were closely interwoven and that they were willing that the two sections should be reunited. The Sutherland claim was urged for many years but the grant was not made. The lower

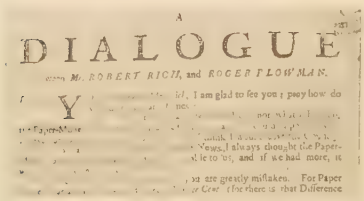
Delaware

1719–1726

counties, with an assembly of their own, continued in union with Pennsylvania through a common executive.

Practical Politics

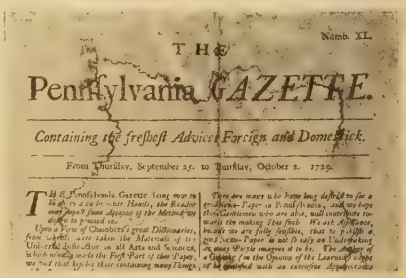
In Pennsylvania it was common for the assembly to fix the salary of the governor and then to cut off his supplies if he vetoed any popular measure — an underhold that constituted an important principle of constitutional law. Nowhere was the policy of granting money in exchange for legislation more frankly avowed than in Pennsylvania.


A
DIALOGUE
Mr. ROBERT RICH, and ROGER FLOWMAN.
Y
Yes, I always thought the Paper-
are greatly mistaken. For Paper
Beginning of First Page of *A Dialogue Between Mr. Robert Rich and Roger Plowman* (A Dialogue on the Paper Money Question)

In 1709, the governor was informed that the house had voted him two hundred pounds and that the speaker would present him a bill for that amount when he had passed the acts referred to him. In a review of the constitution and government of Pennsylvania, printed in 1759, it is stated that "every proprietary Governor has two Masters, one who gives him his Commission and one who gives him his pay," and that "the subjects Money is never so well disposed of as in the Maintenance of Order and Tranquillity and the Purchase of good Laws."

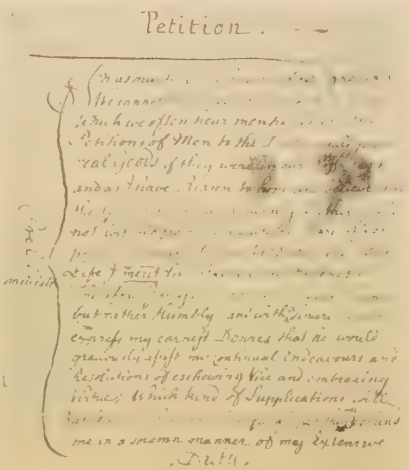
Ben Franklin

Born in January, 1706, almost under the shadow of the South Church in Boston, Benjamin Franklin early developed a fondness for books and, at twelve years of age, bound himself as an apprentice to his brother James, a printer. In 1723, he quarreled with his brother and made his way to Philadelphia where he found employment with a printer. After a visit to London, he returned to Philadelphia and soon entered business as a


Numb. XL.
THE
Pennsylvania GAZETTE.
Containing the freshest Advices Foreign and Domestick.
From Thursday, September 25. to Thursday, October 2. 1729.
Heading of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*

1726

printer in partnership with Hugh Meredith. Three years later, they were printing English and German books and publishing a weekly paper that they had bought and the ponderous name of which they had shortened. The first number of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* printed under the new management bears date of the second of October, 1729. In 1730, the partnership was dissolved, Franklin continuing the business alone and adding to it a stationer's shop. 1726–1733


Petition.

A Page from Franklin's Articles of Belief, Written in 1728

A new governor arrived at Philadelphia in 1726 and met the assembly in August. Keith succeeded to a baronetcy and an indebtedness that resulted in his ruin, became a member of the assembly, and for two terms did what he could to embarrass the administration and to distress the proprietary family. He soon lost his popularity and returned to England where he died in 1749. The new representative of the proprietors was Patrick Gordon. When Hannah Penn died in 1733, the Pennsylvania assembly assumed that his authority Governor Gordon

Keith's House at Graeme Park

1736 1737 was terminated by her death, but her sons, John, Thomas, and Richard, issued him a new commission and quickly put an end to the trouble. The king approved the commission and reserved the right to assume the government of Delaware for the crown. Gordon died in August, 1736.

James Logan

For two years after Gordon's death, James Logan governed as president of the council. Logan had come to America in 1699 as secretary to William Penn. He was of Scotch-Irish parentage, a thorough classical scholar, an excellent mathematician, a voluminous writer, an esteemed correspondent of learned men on both sides of the Atlantic, a member of the council from 1702 to 1747, the business agent for the Penn family, and the champion of their interests in the province.

The Indian Walk

An alleged deed, said to have been executed by Delaware chiefs in 1686, specified that the western extent of the grant should be as far as a man could walk in a day and a half. In 1737, Thomas Penn secured another release of the "walking purchase" and an agreement to have the land "walked." Penn selected three pedestrians and the Delawares a like number to accompany them. The walk began at Wrightstown in Bucks County, about four miles from the Delaware River, led northwesterly through the Lehigh Water Gap, and ended at Broad Mountain a few miles beyond Mauch Chunk, a total distance of sixty-five or seventy miles. The second trio could not maintain the pace set by the whites. The Indians had not expected that the walk would go beyond Blue Mountain and felt that they had been cheated.

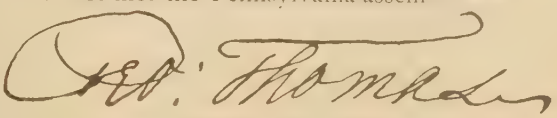
The Stolen Domain

Instead of running the line thence to the Delaware by the shortest course, the surveyors ran northeasterly to the mouth of the Lackawaxen. This increased the area of the purchase by many thousand acres and robbed the grantors of the highly prized lands in the vicinity of the "forks of the Delaware" where Easton is and of their favorite hunting grounds along the river north of the mountains. Previous to this walk, Penn's colonists and the Indians had dwelt together in peace. But the founder

of the colony was dead and his son Thomas was different. 1738
In 1742, the dominant Iroquois were induced to require 1746
the Delawares to leave the tract in question and go to Wyoming or to Shamokin. The Delawares obeyed but they did not forget.

Governor Thomas

The next deputy-governor under the proprietors was George Thomas. He first met the Pennsylvania assembly in August, 1738, and soon was in deep trouble with its members concerning the currency. For more than a decade, Pennsylvania had been issuing bills of credit that were legal tender and ignoring the threats of the board of trade. As the issues increased in amount, the value of the bills fell away. Now the rate of exchange was over seventy per cent. In 1739, the assembly increased the amount to eighty thousand pounds, printed new bills, and introduced the death penalty for counterfeiting. In March, 1746, these bills were continued for sixteen years more. Then came war, more issues of paper "money," a great provincial debt, and burdensome taxes.



Autograph of George Thomas

Pennsylvania Ten-shilling Bill, 1723

Arms of George Thomas

Over the Mountains

In this administration the tide of immigration from Ireland, Scotland, and Germany took on vast proportions. The fertile valleys west of the Susquehanna were rapidly settled by an intelligent and thrifty people. We have already noted the migra-

1728 tion southward from Pennsylvania along the valleys
1745 beyond the Blue Ridge and thus into the up-country of Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. In the first half

Map of Pennsylvania, 1717–45

of the eighteenth century, the population of Pennsylvania increased from twenty thousand to about two hundred thousand, largely through the immigration of Scotch-Irish and of Palatinate Germans. It is worth while to seek the causes that led to such results.

The Scotch-Irish

Some years after his accession to the English throne, James I. undertook to control the Catholic Irish by settling among them an outnumbering Protestant population. From Presbyterian Scotland and the north counties of England, men and women were sent across the North Channel into Ulster and there settled on the confiscated estates of the rebellious Irish earls. By the middle of the century the newcomers were three hundred thousand strong. They transformed their wilderness into a garden; they made the barren lands to blossom like the rose. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, their woolen and linen industries had won a world-wide fame. In spite of intermarriages, the Catho-

lic Irish cherished an intense and bitter hatred for the transplanted lowland Scotch who recognized no pope and prospered on lands of which their ancestors had been dispossessed and to which they felt they had a right. 1728 1745

From Ulster to Utopia

In 1698, English envy secured legislation that forced idleness upon many of the Scotch artisans in Ireland. With this came extortionate rents, consequent evictions, and, in 1704, disqualifying test-oaths. Then began the depopulation of Protestant Ireland. Alarm led to promises of relief and, for a time, the tide of emigration was checked. By 1719, the hope that their wrongs would not long persist had died out and, in 1720, the Ulster Presbyterians began again to flock in large numbers to the New World. Froude, the English historian, says that in two years "thirty thousand Protestants left Ulster for a land where there was no legal robbery, and where those who sowed the seed could reap the harvest." The Utopia thus described was Pennsylvania. The movement received a great impulse about 1728, which may be taken as the beginning of the largest migration from Europe to the New World prior to the steamship era.

The Dunkers and the Moravians

William Penn, who was half Dutch, had extended some of his visits to his mother's native land into tours in Germany, the source of the other great migration to Pennsylvania. Following the Mennonites with whom Pastorius came to Germantown and their brethren for whom Lancaster County became a motherland in America, a sect of German Baptists called Dunkers came to Pennsylvania in the third decade of the eighteenth century. About 1735, a branch of the Moravian Brethren settled in Georgia. They soon moved to Pennsylvania where, in 1741, they founded Bethlehem which is still the metropolis of their church in America.

Pennsylvania Dutch

The most numerous of the German immigrants to Pennsylvania were those from the Rhenish palatinate. The repeated devastations of that country had reduced thousands of the peasantry to a state of abject misery. In the reign of Queen Anne, systematic efforts were made

1728 to draw them to England for carriage to America. Of
1745 these, the greater number went to Pennsylvania. For a time ships plied between Rotterdam and Philadelphia with almost the regularity of a ferry. By the middle of the century, the Palatines in Pennsylvania numbered about fifty thousand; for forty years all Pennsylvania Germans were called Palatines. A frugal, industrious, conservative element of the community, they have lived for generations with so little intermixture with their neighbors that their original high German speech, quaintly spiced with English, still survives in the dialect commonly called Pennsylvania Dutch.

A Fertilizing Flood

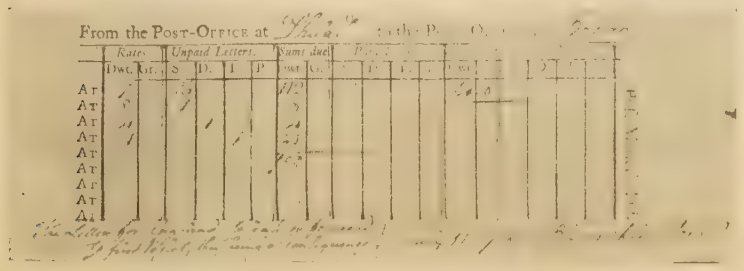
Thus the streams from Ulster and from the Palatinate, entering the American colonies by way of Pennsylvania and with only partial blending, flowed through western Maryland and the Shenandoah valley, toning down the sway of the cavalier in Virginia, reconstructing society in North Carolina, exerting a powerful influence in South Carolina, and still leaving enough behind to constitute more than half the population of Pennsylvania. The stream of Scotch-Irish immigrants that thus reached the Savannah was reinforced by other streams of the same type that had entered through the seaports of Georgia and the Carolinas. Turning westward, the flood overflowed the mountains and entered the rich valley of the Mississippi. The sons of these Roundheads of the South built the commonwealths of Kentucky and Tennessee, won at King's Mountain, and overthrew Wellington's veterans "in that brief but acute agony at New Orleans."

War, Indians, and Quakers

In 1740, Whitefield's preaching aroused intense religious excitement in the province. War between Great Britain and France was declared in 1744 and Governor Thomas proposed in the Pennsylvania assembly a union of all the British northern colonies. In 1745, the assembly voted four thousand pounds to be laid out "in the purchase of bread, beef, pork, flour, wheat or other grain" for the New England garrison at Louisburg and Governor Thomas, without question from any source, acted

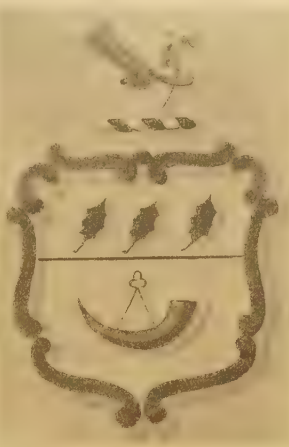
upon his clear understanding that "other grain" was a Quaker euphemism for gunpowder. 1720

By this time, Benjamin Franklin had become a prosperous and influential citizen. The first edition of his "Poor Richard" The Rise of "Poor Richard"


From the Post-Office at

Postmaster's Bill, Signed by Franklin, 1745

now famous *Poor Richard's Almanack* was printed in 1732; the assembly made him its clerk in 1736; and, in 1737, he was appointed provincial postmaster. He founded the American Philosophical Society in 1744 and, in 1746, began the series of experiments in electricity that won for him an immortal fame.



Coat of Arms of William Burnet

In September, 1720, William Burnet came as governor of New York and New Jersey, succeeding Robert Hunter. Burnet had been controller-general of customs in England and now exchanged offices with Hunter. He accepted the friends of his predecessor as his own and wedded a daughter of Abraham van Horne, a prosperous Dutch merchant, who soon became a member of the council. He made a good impression upon the assembly which gave him a five years' grant of revenue and a later grant for three years more. His administration was not much disturbed by constitutional disputes. New York under Burnet

1722–1727 The Indian Trade

The French at Montreal and the English at Albany were rival bidders for the supply of skins that the "far Indians" brought from the region of the great lakes. Blankets, knives, and guns were cheaper at Albany than they were at Montreal. In 1722, Governor Burnet secured the passage by the New York assembly of an act making more effectual an act of 1720 that forbade the sale of Indian goods to the Canadian French. These acts were used by Burnet's enemies for his undoing.

Oswego Begun

The Palatine migration to America was going on and Germans were beginning to make new homes in the valley of the Mohawk. To check this advance, Joncaire was sent to fortify a French post at Niagara. To preserve the Indian trade threatened by this occupation of Niagara, Burnet established a trading post at Irondequoit Bay, thus planting the English standard on the great lakes. By 1722, there was a trading post "at the mouth of the Onnondage River." The Iroquois objected and Vaudreuil protested, but English traders flocked to the place and there intercepted the annual flotillas from the western waters. Thus Oswego grew in importance until, in 1727, Governor Burnet said that there "our principal Trade with the far Nations is carried on."

1721

English Prestige

In the meantime, the Palatines were settling at German Flats, near the portage to Oswego, English traders were carrying their goods as far west as the Wabash, and presently a band of Mackinac Indians appeared at Albany. Along a route of twelve hundred miles, the far Indians had resisted the efforts of the French to turn them back. In September, 1726, three of the Iroquois tribes made a new treaty at Albany, confirmed the English claim of an earlier cession of the land north of Lake Erie, and granted a strip sixty miles wide south of the lakes of Ontario and Erie, including the post at Oswego and extending to the site of Cleveland. It is not certain that the Indians understood the words of the treaty just as the English did. In 1727, Governor Burnet built a fort at Oswego and, as the assembly had not provided enough money, advanced part of the cost from his own resources.

Soon after his arrival in 1719, Governor Burnet met the New Jersey legislature. The session was short and little business was done. Instead of continuing the old assembly as he did in New York, Burnet dissolved the house and issued writs for a new election. The new assembly met early in the spring of 1721 and was continued through Burnet's administration. The assembly voted the governor a salary of five hundred pounds a year for five years and the governor neglected the province to her perfect satisfaction. 1719 1728 Burnet in New Jersey

The most important legislation of this New Jersey assembly related to the currency. The preamble of the act set forth that as the neighboring colonies of New York and Pennsylvania, to which New Jersey produce was exported, had no other than paper currency and, as that was not legal tender in New Jersey, the province had been drained of its coin and was unable to replenish the supply. Under such circumstances, the assembly authorized the issue of bills of credit to the limit of forty thousand pounds and apportioned the bills to the counties for loan on pledge of plate or real estate. Paper Money

In 1727, Governor Burnet was transferred to Massachusetts where he died two years later. The transfer made a place for John Montgomerie who came to New York in April, 1728. In spite of the remonstrances of some members of the council, the governor took action that conceded to the assembly the power to determine the salaries of all the officers of the province. This control of salaries was so potent that Richard Bradley, the attorney-general of New York, charged that to every money appropriation the assembly attached "some injurious Bill to His Majesty's prerogative and interest, [which] . . . must be comply'd with, or no money can be had for the necessary support of Government." As the assembly denied the legality of the provincial court of chancery and possibly because he doubted his ability to serve as chancellor, Montgomerie omitted the holding of such a court. In return for such concessions, the New York assembly voted him a five years' Governor Montgomerie

1728–1733 revenue. In New Jersey he had to be content with annual grants.

Montgomerie's Death

1730

The most notable events of Montgomerie's administration were the granting of a new charter giving increased privileges to the city of New York, the final running of the New York-Connecticut boundary line in accordance with the agreement of 1683, and a renewal of the attempt to secure for New Jersey a government separate from that of New York. Montgomerie died in July, 1731. According to an official census, New York city and county then had a population of 8,622.

Governor Cosby

After the death of Montgomerie, New Jersey's executive affairs were administered for a time by Lewis Morris and those of New York by Rip van Dam, each as president of the council. In August, 1732, William Cosby came as governor of the two provinces. He brought a royal order for a share of the salary and perquisites of the office during Van Dam's incumbency. The salary had been paid to Van Dam but the fees were paid to Cosby. The Dutch merchant was quite willing to divide share and share alike, but the royal governor held that the royal order applied to one but not to two. Both appealed to the courts, Van Dam attempting to proceed under the common law and Cosby asking an action in equity. At the trial, the chief-justice, Lewis Morris, denied the right of the court to decide equity cases and the right of the king to establish equity courts. The governor then removed the chief-justice, promoted to the vacant place James DeLancey who had dissented from Morris's decision and suspended Van Dam and other members of the council.

How to Manage a Supreme Court

August 21, 1733

The Genesis of New York Journalism

October 16, 1725

In 1693, William Bradford had left Philadelphia to become the public printer for New York. In 1725, Governor Burnet felt the need of an official organ and Bradford began the *New York Gazette*, a weekly newspaper. It was not long before there was a competitor for the partisan *Gazette* and consequent trouble for the provincial administration. In 1733, the *New York Weekly Journal* was begun by John Peter Zenger, one of

November 5

the Palatines who had come over with Governor Hunter and had been apprenticed to the public printer. As an editor, Bradford was no match for Zenger who, with sarcasm and unrelenting logic, held the governor up to public scorn. Zenger had little money, but he received help, encouragement, and editorial aid from Lewis Morris, Rip van Dam, and others. 1734 1735

So irritating were the criticisms, lampoons, and satires of the *Journal* that the expurgated council declared four numbers of the paper to be seditious and ordered that they be burned by the hangman. The court of sessions forbade the hangman to obey the order, but the sheets were finally burned by the sheriff's negro slave. The *auto da fe* fell far below the solemn, judicial act that it was intended to be and Cosby sought relief in a proclamation. Satire and Sedition November 2, 1734 November 6

On the seventeenth of November, Zenger was arrested on a warrant from the governor and council and his bail was fixed at four hundred pounds, a sum that he was not able to secure. As the grand jury refused to indict him, Attorney-general Bradley filed an information against him. At the preliminary hearing in April, 1735, Zenger's counsel, James Alexander and William Smith, two of the ablest lawyers in the province, attacked the commission of Chief-justice DeLancey and of Justice Philipse on constitutional grounds. With the remark that "You have brought it to that point, gentlemen, that either we must go from the bench or you from the bar," DeLancey summarily disbarred the eminent attorneys for contempt of court, assigned Zenger other counsel, and ordered a struck jury for the trial. Zenger's Arrest

Cosby and his friends were reckless or they misjudged the temper of the people. The action of the court gave the disbarred attorneys leisure to lead in a popular movement in behalf of the defendant. Everywhere in New York and the near-by colonies, the action of the judges was discussed. From the discussion came a division between those who adhered to royalty and its prerogatives and those who stood up for the sovereignty of the Taking Sides

1735 people. Year after year, the line then drawn was defined more and more sharply. The burning of stamped paper was only thirty years away.

Zenger's Lawyer

When Zenger's case came to trial in August, 1735, the judges were surprised by the appearance of Andrew Hamilton as chief counsel for the defendant. Hamilton was speaker of the Pennsylvania assembly, the leading lawyer of Philadelphia, venerable in years, eloquent in speech, and fearless in action. He boldly admitted the publication of the alleged libel but denied that it was "scandalous or seditious." The information charged that the publication was false; Hamilton offered to prove that it was true. The chief-justice ruled that Zenger could not be "permitted to prove the facts in the papers" and the attorney-general claimed a verdict for the crown. Then turning to the jurors, Hamilton boldly argued that the defense might prove the truth of the libel in justification and that "the jury has a right to determine both the law and the fact and they ought to do so."

Andrew Hamilton

Hamilton's Argument

Zenger's Acquittal

After Hamilton's address, the argument of the attorney-general and the charge of the chief-justice fell on the ears of the jurors as sound void of sense. The twelve good men and true had hardly left the court-room before they came back with a verdict of "Not guilty." The eloquent advocate became the popular hero; the trial left him with a continental reputation, the leading lawyer of English America. A great victory had been won, but poor Zenger was left to struggle with his overwhelming debts and the hatred of the official, aristocratic party.

Emancipation

The Zenger trial meant immensely more than the liberation of a poor printer from the clutches of vindictive

power. Hamilton conducted the case according to the law of the future which he helped to make. The trial settled in 1735 the right of American juries to find a general verdict in libel cases as Fox's libel act did for English juries in 1792. It gave the finishing blow to the court of exchequer and from the hands of judges appointed to serve during the king's pleasure took the power of doing mischief. It established freedom of the press in the English colonies of America and gave concrete form to the convictions and aspirations of the people. It was prophetic. 1735 1743

In spite of efforts to secure his removal, Cosby held his place until his death in March, 1736. In New York, the succession was claimed by two members of the council, Rip van Dam and George Clarke. Clarke soon received a commission as lieutenant-governor and promptly sided with the aristocracy against the popular party. When the assembly that had been elected nine years before did not follow his recommendations to build a fort on the carrying-place where Rome now stands and to provide for the debt of the province, he dissolved it and issued writs for an election in the following month. Governor Clarke May 3, 1737

In its response to the address of the governor, the new assembly said: "You are not to expect that we either will raise sums unfit to be raised or put what we shall raise into the power of a governor to misapply if we can prevent it; nor shall we make up any other deficiencies than what we conceive are fit and just to be paid or continue what support or revenue we shall raise for any longer time than one year; nor do we think it convenient to do even that until such laws are passed as we conceive to be necessary for the safety of the inhabitants of this colony who have reposed a trust in us for that only purpose and, by the grace of God, we will endeavor not to deceive them." This was not pretentious loyalty; it was more like a preliminary declaration of independence. Plain Talk September, 1737

In September, 1743, Governor Clarke was superseded by Admiral George Clinton, the second son of the earl Governor Clinton

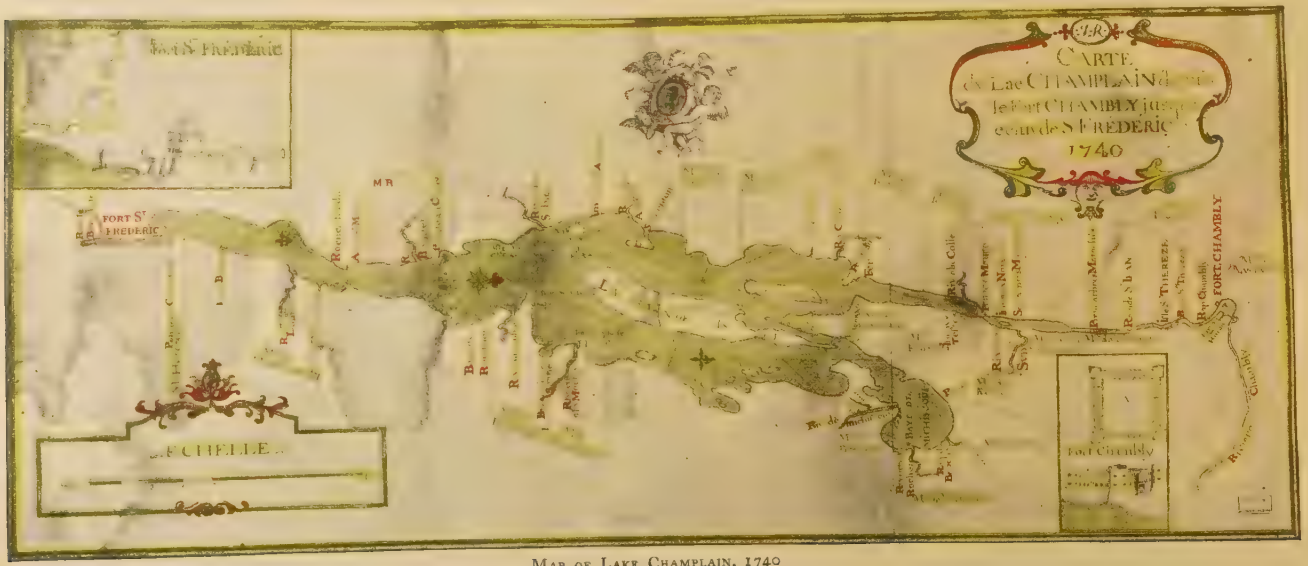
1743–1745 of Lincoln. Clinton promptly dissolved the New York assembly, but continued in their places the officers appointed by his predecessor and was easily led by Chief-justice DeLancey to surrender advantages that the assembly never again relinquished. He spent the first part of his administration in playing into DeLancey's hand and the latter part thereof in repenting of his early weakness. After his quarrel with DeLancey, he took as his chief adviser Cadwallader Colden, a member of the provincial council, an earnest royalist, and quite the equal of DeLancey in ability.

William Johnson

Sir Peter Warren of the royal navy married the sister of Chief-justice DeLancey and with her received lands to which he added by purchase in the valley of the Mohawk. The commodore had a love-lorn nephew to whom he offered the management of his New York estate; and so William Johnson came to America. In 1738, the nephew established himself on the river about twenty-four miles west of Schenectady. He soon won the confidence of the Indians and made himself familiar with their language, customs, and beliefs. He was adopted by the Mohawks, became an honorary chieftain, and secured an influence over the Six Nations greater than that of any other white man. Governor Clinton promoted him over the heads of all the other military officers of the province and, in 1746, appointed him superintendent of Indian affairs. We shall hear of him again.

The Louisburg Prospectus

News that war with France had been declared reached New York in June, 1744. In 1745, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts asked for aid for his proposed expedition against Louisburg, the school of officers and men who later fought at Bunker Hill but otherwise as barren as it was brilliant. Clinton eagerly urged coöperation; the assembly refused men and grudgingly appropriated three thousand pounds. The governor sent some cannons at his own expense, dissolved the house, and ordered a new election. He soon had opportunity to report that "The New Assembly seems to be of a better Disposition to do Business."



Map of Lake Champlain, 1740

1738–1745 The Attack on Saratoga

In 1731, the French had built at Crown Point on Lake Champlain a fort that commanded the ordinary road between Albany and Canada. Thence in November, 1745, French and Indians made a raid upon Saratoga. Twenty houses were destroyed, twenty or thirty persons were killed, and sixty led away to Indian captivity. The New York assembly saw that safety demanded a more liberal policy. Within three years, New York contributed seventy thousand pounds for the prosecution of the war, block-houses were built between Saratoga and the Mohawk country, and the defenses of New York harbor were strengthened.

A New Jersey Governor

Although, since the surrender of the proprietary governments of the Jerseys, the royal governors of New York had also been at the head of New Jersey affairs, they had spent little time in the smaller province. The delays and difficulties thus created were made worse by the fact that the other chief officers of New Jersey were chosen from New York or moved thither upon their appointment. In the year before Montgomerie's death, the New Jersey speaker had signed a petition to the king for a separate governor—"By order of the House 4th 5 mo, 1730;" immediately after his death, the request was renewed by the council, but nothing was accomplished until after Cosby's death. Then Lewis Morris, who long had been president of the New Jersey council and whom Cosby had removed from the chief-justiceship of New York, received an appointment as governor of New Jersey. Morris published his commission at Amboy on the twenty-ninth of August, 1738, and at Burlington a few days later.

Democracy Versus Loyalty

Governor Morris met the New Jersey assembly in October. His self-applause was echoed by the assembly, the grateful and joyous expression of a short-lived satisfaction. He who long had been a leader of the popular party now separated from the people and came into conflict with their representatives. In less than a year, he complained that "there is so much insincerity and ignorance among the people." When, in 1743, the

May 10, 1739

assembly passed a bill by which the fees of the chief-justice would be lessened, the governor demanded of the delegates the authority for their position concerning the immediate applicability of the law. The chief-justice was the governor's son, Robert Hunter Morris. The assembly sent back word that "it is not consistent with the honour and dignity of the House and the trust reposed in them to give any further answer." 1743 1745

Lewis Morris's Book-plate

Greek Meets Greek

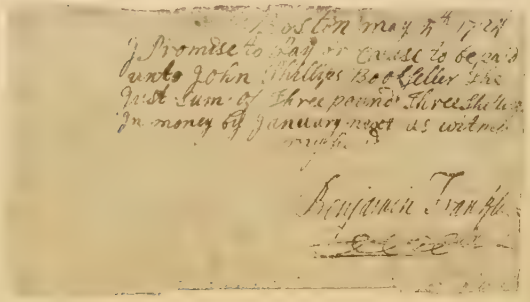
The renewal of the currency act of 1723, the limitation of the jurisdiction of the supreme court, and other popular measures occasioned additional dissension. By the end of 1744, the governor had dissolved three assemblies, each of which had plainly told him that they would pass no bill for the support of government except concurrently with the bills just mentioned. Morris characterized the proposal as "a most unmannerly threat" and informed the delegates that he would not approve the bills "unless sufficient provision be made for the support of the government previous to the passing of any bill by me. And this, gentlemen, I desire you to take notice of and govern yourselves accordingly." The representatives were equally firm and informed the governor that "they do therefore rather chuse, until then to follow His Excellency's former advice to defer such bills until some more favorable opportunity when reason and argument may have greater influence." When, late in 1745, he dissolved another

1745 assembly, Morris wrote to Governor Clinton that "most Assemblys that I have been acquainted with, Vallue themselves on a narrow way of thinking."

A Deadlock Broken by Death

Although the governor thought that his salary was too small, it was cut in half and then withheld by way of discipline. When the assembly attempted to interfere with the expenditures of moneys that they had appropriated and finally refused to pass supply bills at all until he assented to bills enacted by them, Morris was confirmed in his earlier opinion that the general tendency in the English provinces to render governors dependent on the people "was nowhere pursued with more steadiness or less decency than in New Jersey." The deadlock thus brought about continued until 1746 when Governor Morris died.

May 21



An Early Autograph of Franklin, 1724

CHAPTER XXVII

NEW ENGLAND

1716
1745

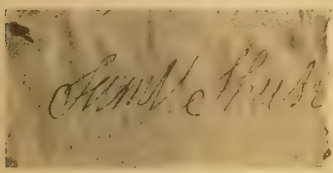
The Frame of Mind

MASSACHUSETTS men still mourned the substitution of the provincial for the old colonial charter. From their point of view the existing frame of government was meddlesome and mischievous; for it there was no foundation in the reason of things; thus to cross the will of the people was to seek the ruin of Massachusetts. This mental attitude of the inhabitants is the only key that can open to our view the meaning of the provincial history of Massachusetts.

The Province House Arms

Governor Shute

Samuel Shute, the new royal governor, arrived at Boston on the third of October, 1716. In April, just before his coming, the provincial authorities bought a mansion and set up over the doorway the royal arms elaborately carved. This official residence, the province house, became the central scene of the chief gayeties, pageantries, and formalities of the king's vice-court in Boston. Shute made a good beginning, pleasing the Episcopalians by attendance at King's chapel on Sunday and the Con-



Autograph of Samuel Shute

1716–1720 gregationalists by listening to Cotton Mather's lecture on the following Thursday. He was an honest man with a military sense of obedience to instructions. Those instructions led to difficulties of a character familiar to the reader of this volume. The governor told the deputies what the king expected, fixed salaries, a fort at Pemaquid, a censorship of the press, and other things, to all of which the deputies listened and none of which they granted. Disobedient deputies were not to the governor's taste and so he prorogued them.

November 7, 1716

The Right to Print

John Bridger, "surveyor-general of the woods," had been at work placing upon the tallest trees the broad-arrow mark, the token of reservation as mast-timber for the king's use. The settlers had no mind to submit tamely to the loss of their most valuable export and Elisha Cooke, the younger, maintained the justice of their claims. When Cooke was reëlected to the council in 1718, Shute informed him that "his attendance at the board would be excused." The general court sent their remonstrance to the governor who threatened to prevent their printing it. The threat made it necessary to print the document and it appeared in the *News-Letter*. The right of the court to print what it pleased was never again questioned.

Autograph of Elisha Cooke

Great Seal of Massachusetts about 1715

Elisha Cooke

These things helped the younger Cooke to succeed his father as leader of the popular party. His choice as speaker of the house in 1720 was an unequivocal defiance of the governor. Shute refused to confirm the election, the deputies refused to go into another ballot, the governor

dissolved the assembly, a new general court was called, another speaker was elected, the "present" to the governor was made smaller, appropriations were refused, and the house was prorogued. By the terms of the new charter, all legislative acts required the approval of the crown but it was found that simple "resolves" were as effective as the more formal "acts." 1719–1721

Wars had brought public debt and depreciated paper currency had wrought a spirit of gambling speculation. The Massachusetts colonists were divided into three factions, one of which demanded a resumption of specie payment; another, the establishment of a private "land-bank" with unlimited paper-issues; while the third clamored for a public bank that should issue paper money guardedly and strive to pay the public debt. The triple issue divided families and parishes like a civil war. In every town and village, amateur financiers discussed the application of principles of which they knew nothing to measures that they could not comprehend. Finance

A generation of English-born Americans had passed away and in their places had come a "people who loved England but had never seen England; who always called England home, but had never been at home." From the intellectual activity of this new race came a "great fecundity of print." In 1719, Boston had five active printing-presses. The *Boston News-Letter*, established in 1704, was a not very vigorous weekly paper—a mere digest of the news. In 1719, the *Boston Gazette* was begun with Postmaster Philip Musgrave as publisher and James Franklin as printer. Franklin lost the printing of the *Gazette* and, in 1721, startled the community with the *New England Courant*, a bold and saucy sheet of the free-lance sort—a thing to which the people were not then accustomed. A Saucy Newspaper

James Franklin had a younger brother, then about sixteen years of age. Ben Franklin was the carrier of the *Courant*, for which he also set type and wrote paragraphs. The good people of the town, scandalized by the *Courant's* freedom of discussion of every interesting topic, dubbed Franklin

1721–1728 its coterie of essayists the "Hell Fire Club" and the aged Increase Mather could "well remember when the civil government would have taken an effectual course to suppress such a cursed libel." In spite of attempts to prevent it, the *Courant* still ran on, mixing Dr. Watts's hymns with comments and discussions that then seemed scandalous. But James and Benjamin quarreled—and October, 1723 so the younger brother left Boston and gave himself to Philadelphia, as already related.

From Politics to Poetry

But literary activity was by no means given over to the "Hell Fire Club" school. Elisha Cooke, Samuel Sewall, and the Mathers wrote much that the faithful student of their time must read. For instance, Cotton Mather published fourteen books in a single year. The most bulky of his three hundred and eighty-three separate writings, published before his death in 1728, is the February 13 *Magnalia Christi Americana*, an ecclesiastical history of New England which, although characteristically careless and pedantic, overshadows all the other writings produced in America in colonial times. In 1721, Jeremiah Dummer published in London and Boston his masterly *Defence of the New England Charters*. In fact, the Boston citizen "resorted to the typesetter as readily as he gossiped, and that was easily enough." Thomas Prince was gathering his invaluable historical collections and Thomas Hutchinson was in training to become the best of our colonial chroniclers. Michael Wigglesworth's blazing and sulphurous poem, *The Day of Doom*, in which "reprobate infants" were assured that

> in bliss
> You may not hope to dwell;
> But unto you I shall allow
> The easiest room in hell,

was at the height of its long-maintained popularity. But Wigglesworth had passed away in 1705 and his mourning friends were seeking consolation in his *Meat out of the Eater*—an exposition of the doctrine of comfort in sorrow—"such poetry as might still serve that purpose, at least by plucking from the memory, for a moment, a rooted sorrow, and substituting a literary anguish in place of it."

To the other embarrassments of Shute's administration was added trouble with the eastern Indians. The Abnaki tribes claimed the region between the Kennebec and the Saint Croix. When told that Acadia "with its ancient boundaries" had been surrendered to England, their chiefs hastened to Quebec where Vaudreuil assured them that the treaty of Utrecht had made no mention of their country. The Massachusetts general court extended its jurisdiction and secured several chiefs and held them as hostages. In 1721, the Abnaki demanded the evacuation of their territory and the release of their imprisoned warriors. In answer, the English seized and carried to Boston the younger Baron Castine, a half-breed, who was at once a French official and an Indian war-chief. After that, peace would have been impossible even had there been no instigation from Quebec.

1721 1722 The Seizure of Maine

A more serious cause of Indian complaint was the attempt to seize Father Rasle by an English expedition sent to Norridgewock. The missionary escaped but in his cabin were found letters showing that the French governor had done what he could to incite the increasing depredations of the red men. A few months later, Governor Shute and the council made their formal declaration against the eastern Indians. Under cover of impending war, the general court began encroaching on the military power of the governor; officers were instructed to communicate directly with a legislative committee rather than with the commander-in-chief.

Indian War

July 25, 1722

In New Hampshire, Lieutenant-governor Vaughan claimed executive authority when Governor Shute was absent from the province. Shute chose to live in Boston, preferred suspending Vaughan to abdicating any of his power, and was supported by the assembly and the crown — almost the only thing in which Shute and the New Hampshire assembly agreed. John Wentworth was appointed in Vaughan's place and therein continued until his death in 1730. Some of the Scotch-Irish immigrants already mentioned settled in New Hampshire and gave the Irish name of Londonderry to the town they

New Hampshire

1723 founded. In May, 1722, Governor Shute signed the charters for four new townships; on the following day, he prorogued the assembly. When he returned to England, Wentworth became the acting governor of New Hampshire.

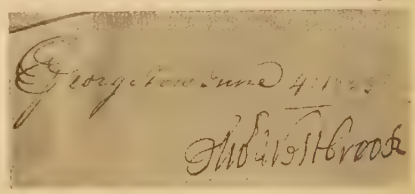
John Wentworth

Shute's Exit

Before folks at Boston were astir on the morning of the first day of January, 1723, Shute was on his way to England to arraign the province before the privy council and to complain to the king that the representatives of the people had trampled on the prerogatives of the crown. The board of trade thought that they saw treason in the interference of the assembly with the militia, urged the importance of restraining so powerful a colony within due bounds of obedience, and demanded "the effectual interposition of the British legislature."

William Dummer

When Governor Shute retired from Massachusetts, the administration devolved upon the lieutenant-governor. William Dummer was of a conciliatory temper, but his rule was not much more successful than that of his predecessor. The aggressive lower house insisted on the removal of Colonel Shadrach Walton and Major Moody, the commanders of the forces at the east, and Dummer had to yield. Walton was retired without the pay that he had earned and the command was transferred to Colonel Thomas Westbrook.



Autograph of Thomas Westbrook

Shute was at work in England, the Massachusetts charter was again in danger, its author, Increase Mather, died and Elisha Cooke was sent to London to join Jeremiah Dummer as agent of the province. The crown lawyers decided against Massachusetts on every question raised by Shute and, in the end, an explanatory or supplemental charter was issued. It affirmed the right of the governor to reject a speaker and denied the house the right to adjourn for a period longer than two days. The new charter was accepted by the Massachusetts general court in January, 1725.

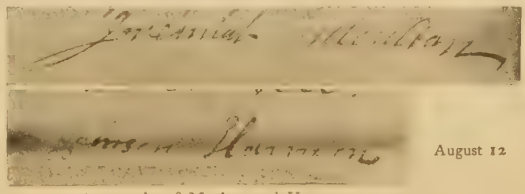
1723
1724

A Supplemental Charter

Autograph of Jeremiah Dummer

Early in 1723, Colonel Westbrook made a raid along the Penobscot. In 1724, Fort Dummer was built near the site of Brattleboro. This was the first English settlement in Vermont. In the same year, and by order of Colonel Westbrook, captains Moulton and Harmon surprised the settlement at Norridgewock in Maine and, ten days later, the "Sheerness" came up to Boston with twenty-eight scalps including that of Sebastian Rasle who had been killed in the general slaughter. This remarkable man had resisted all the blandishments of church preferment and, in this wilderness outpost, had, for a full generation, labored with rare ability and diplomatic zeal in the service of Rome and France.

Father Rasle



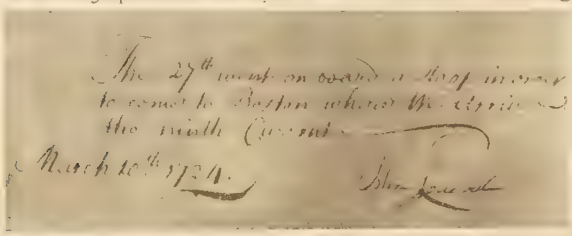
Autographs of Moulton and Harmon

August 12

In 1724, Captain John Lovewell and others who were willing to "employ themselves in Indian hunting one whole year" submitted to the Massachusetts general court their "Humble Memorial" setting forth their readiness to "keep out in the woods for several months

Business Enterprise

1724 together, in order to kill and destroy their Indian enemy,
1725 provided they could meet with incouragement suitable."



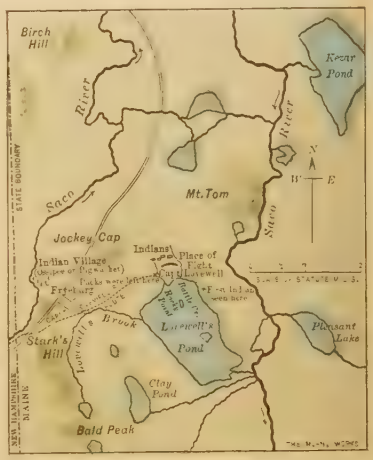
Last Paragraph of Captain Lovewell's Journal of his March against the Indians

The general court authorized the formation of the company and agreed to pay the men "two shillings and sixpence per diem, the sum of one hundred pounds for each male scalp, and the other premiums established by law to volunteers without pay or subsistence." The market price of the scalp of an Indian woman or child was only fifty pounds. Lovewell made three campaigns in quick succession. In February, there was great rejoicing at Dover, Salem, and Boston as Lovewell and his forty men returned with ten scalps dangling from a pole. It was a quick way to get rich.

November 1-, 1724

Lovewell's Fight

In the following April, Lovewell and his soldiers marched to the boundary between New Hampshire and Maine. Here, in the vicinity of what is Fryeburg and near a sheet of water that still is known as Lovewell's pond, was the home of the Ossipee or Pigwacket Indians and of Paugus, their able chief. The English, now only thirty-four in number, were drawn into ambush; the fight was kept up all day. At nightfall, the Indians drew



Map of Lovewell's Fight

May 8,. 1725

off without lingering to scalp the fallen. One white coward had run off, nine who were made of better stuff had survived without serious injury, eleven were badly wounded, and the rest were dead or dying. Among the dead was Lovewell who was killed early in the action. Three of the wounded died on the homeward way but the survivors were amply honored and rewarded. On the other side, Paugus was killed; the remnant of his tribe removed to the head-waters of the Connecticut. In the following November, four eastern sagamores came to Boston where "Dummer's treaty" was signed in December. The peace thus secured was scarcely disturbed for a score of years. The war had cost Massachusetts two hundred and forty thousand pounds. 1725 1728

Governor Burnet

In England, Shute had secured from George I. a threat that he would wring the grant of a fixed salary from the obstinate assembly. When the Massachusetts governor was about to take ship for his province, his majesty died. His commission being thus vacated, Governor Shute slid into a pension and, in 1742, he died. The second George, a "snuffy old drone from a German hive," was proclaimed at Boston in August, 1727. In the following March, Governor Burnet was transferred from New York to Massachusetts; he arrived at Boston in July.

June 11, 1727

Burnet's Tactics

In his opening speech to the legislature, Burnet hinted at danger to the charter if a fair and fixed salary was not voted. The assembly met him promptly with an "allowance" which the governor steadfastly refused to take—the reopening of a kind of war with which most of the English colonists in America were familiar. The house then wished to be prorogued, but Burnet, thinking that the cost of the session might bring the deputies to terms, refused to let them go home and removed the general court to Salem. The deputies pronounced the governor's measures arbitrary and sent Jonathan Belcher with their memorial to the king. Burnet dissolved the assembly, refused his signature to the bill for the pay of its members, and did not give them even an "allowance."

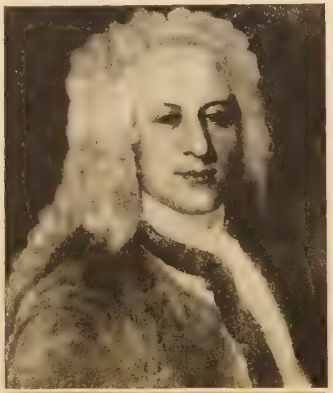
1729–1731 The next assembly was no more to his liking than its predecessor. In August, 1729, he was thrown into the water by the accidental overturning of his carriage. Fever set in and he died in September. William Dummer again became acting governor but was soon superseded by William Tailer.

Burnet's Death

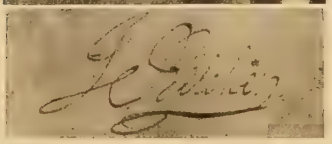
Autograph of William Tailer

Governor Belcher

Jonathan Belcher, who had been lately sent at the cost of Boston merchants with the memorial to the king, was Massachusetts-born. His mother was a daughter of Thomas Danforth and his father had accumulated wealth. He now intimated a change of belief on the doctrine of royal prerogative and was appointed governor of Massachusetts. He arrived at Boston with instructions more extreme than those of any of his predecessors. He renewed the threadbare call for a salary and the legislature again proposed an annual grant. The governor dissolved the assembly and accepted the liberal gratuities that were voted for his services as agent of the province.



August 10, 1730



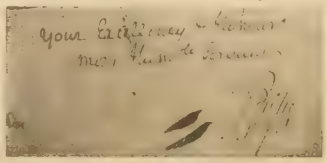
January 2, 1731

Belcher's Surrender

The next assembly was equally refractory. Bribery worked no better now than intimidation had done before. Belcher begged that his instructions might be modified and frankly stated his opinion that the resolution of the people could never be overcome. The home government gave him permission to accept the proffered grants in lieu of salary. Thus the long-continued contention ended in a great victory for Massachusetts. Her royal governors were once more directly responsible to the

representatives of the people. The spirit of independence was energized anew. 1729 1741

Belcher has passed into history as "the least entitled to esteem of all the line of royal governors in Massachusetts —a depreciation perhaps helped by his being born on the soil." When Lieutenant-governor Tailer died in 1732, Belcher pretended in Massachusetts to advocate the selection of one candidate and intrigued in England for the appointment of another—a not unfair example of the deviousness of his political paths. The prize was carried off by a third candidate, Spencer, the adopted son of Sir William Phips. A Crooked Path



Autograph of Spencer Phips

Under the ministry of the Reverend Solomon Stoddard, Northampton had seen more than one harvest of revivifying grace. When he died, his mantle fell upon the shoulders of his colleague and grandson, the Reverend Jonathan Edwards, and the dews of Heaven came down as a rain of righteousness. Under such conditions, George Whitefield came to Boston in September, 1740. The revival became a wild passion and spread through church and community to every part of New England. Even Rhode Island felt the hot breath of the Lord. But some of the conservative clergy condemned Whitefield's emotional methods and Thomas Fleet held him up to ridicule in the *Boston Evening Post* that he had lately founded. When, in 1744, Whitefield came a second time to New England his reception was less flattering than it was before. Jonathan Edwards

February 11, 1729

Whitefield

While the great revival was engaging the chief energies of the people, the war against Spain was proclaimed at Boston. In October, 1740, the Massachusetts quota for the West Indian expedition sailed from Boston. In January, 1741, Admiral Edward Vernon set out from Jamaica with twenty-nine ships of the line and eighty smaller vessels, carrying fifteen thousand sailors and twelve thousand soldiers. In March, the English forces The Cartagena Expedition

1741 attacked Cartagena, the most strongly fortified port in South America. In April, the main assault was repelled with great loss, a pestilence set in, and of the New England thousands scarce a hundred returned.

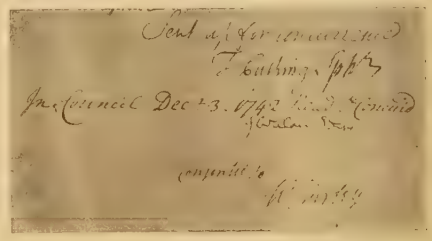
Belcher's Removal

In consequence of popular clamor, Belcher was removed in May, 1741. Doubtless it was difficult to be impartial between an obstinate home government and an obstinate provincial legislature and the situation was complicated by the general feeling that the governor was a renegade who, for selfish reasons, was willing to betray his native land. Belcher went to England and, in 1747, was appointed governor of New Jersey. In Massachusetts he was succeeded by William Shirley, an English lawyer who had lived eight years in Boston.

William Shirley

Governor Shirley

Governor Shirley was discreet and had the tact to retire gracefully when he had advanced unwisely. In obedience to public desire, he violated his instructions and allowed the continuance of bills of credit. He tried to get a fixed salary and dropped the vexed question with the tacit understanding that his annual grant should not fall below a thousand pounds. He won the confidence of the deputies and brought the various branches of the government into harmonious action. At this time, Boston was the most vigorous and conspicuous town in the New World. She sent to sea more vessels than Newport and twice as many as New York.



Autograph of Shirley

While the "great awakening" was shaking New England and before it was known at Boston that war had been declared, the French in Canada captured the English garrison at Canso. The thoughts of men quickly passed from the great struggle with Satan to the stern duties of earthly warfare and Shirley submitted a bold 1744 1745 A Bold Project

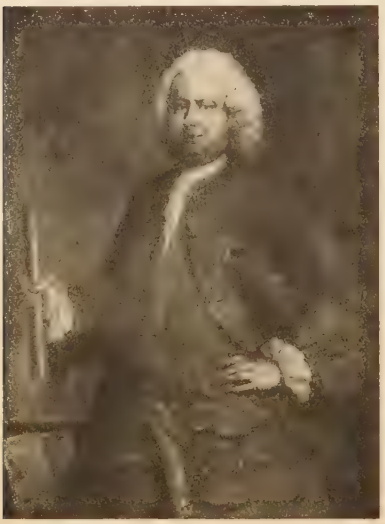
"A South East View of ye Great Town of Boston," by William Price, 1743

scheme for the capture of the great stronghold of the French in America. It is still an open question from whom the first suggestion came. The story goes that Shirley required the members of the general court to take an oath of secrecy before he would reveal his plan but that one of the members became so filled with the momentousness of the matter that, in his family devotion, he earnestly invoked the blessing of Heaven upon the enterprise. Perhaps the deacon thought it no breach of confidence to tell the Lord, but the news spread like wildfire and the whole thing came out. January 9, 1745

In the general court, as elsewhere, the total failure of the expedition was confidently prophesied, but in some shrewd way the governor secured a bare majority. Circulars were sent to the neighboring provinces and the coöperation of the British fleet in the West Indies was sought. The war had thrown many fishermen out of work, the year's crops had been abundant, and it soon was evident that there would be more volunteers than were needed. Volunteers

1745 The Leader

A greater trouble was to find a competent commander. There was hardly a man in the English colonies who had seen a regular siege or been in a pitched battle and Louisburg was the most formidable fortress in America. The choice fell upon Colonel William Pepperrell, a wealthy merchant of Kittery, Maine. Roger Wolcott of Connecticut was commissioned as major-general and made second in command. Samuel Waldo of Boston was brigadier, and Richard Gridley was chief of artillery. After Shirley had appointed Pepperrell he sent a note to Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire, whom he knew to have the gout, saying that he would have named him as commander if it had not been for his lameness. Wentworth threw away his crutches and was ready to go at once and Shirley had to get out of the embarrassing situation as best he could.



Sir William Pepperrell

Fleet and Army

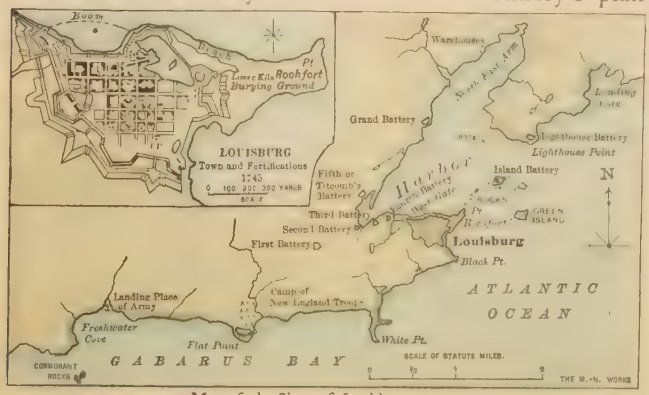
The fleet of almost a hundred transports convoyed by thirteen armed vessels carrying about two hundred cannons and commanded by Captain Edward Tyng, sailed out of Boston with the Massachusetts troops and arrived at Canso on the fourth of April. The New Hampshire troops were already there. The Connecticut fleet, consisting of seven transports under the convoy of the colony sloops

March 24

Autograph of Richard Gridley

of Rhode Island and Connecticut, sailed from New London on the fourteenth of April and arrived at Canso on the twenty-fourth. Governor Shirley's plan

1745



Map of the Siege of Louisburg, 1745

of attack was elaborate. It ignored all possibilities of delay or interference and timed in advance the successive movements as "accurately as one times a fast-trotting horse." As a military paper, its like has not yet been found. After a delay at Canso, where Commodore Peter Warren and four British men-of-war carrying one hundred and eighty guns joined the colonial contingent, the ice-armor of Cape Breton weakened. Then Pepperrell's collection of tradesmen, fishermen, backwoodsmen, and mechanics was safely landed at Gabarus Bay, the British fleet blocked the harbor, and the siege began. April 30

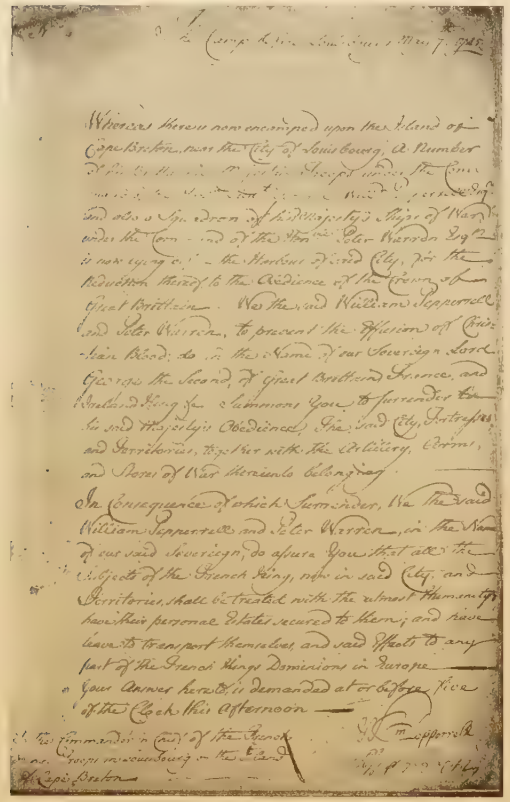
The French had deemed their fortress impregnable and had boasted that women could defend it against any force the colonies could bring to an attack. Duchambon, the French commander, was not the right man for the time and place and precious moments had been lost in useless deliberations. When, with the first gleam of day, the white-winged vessels stood steadily toward the town, bells were rung, fife and drum aroused the garrison, and cannon proclaimed to the militia of the neighborhood that the foe was at hand. As Pepperrell turned his gaze on those

At Louisburg

1745 strong and well-planned works, perhaps he called to mind the not pleasant tale of Phips before Quebec.

Good Luck

From Freshwater Cove the heavy cannons were dragged across the marsh and over the hills towards the town. May-day was spent in earnest preparation. An earthquake was to shake the island but a comedy was to precede the tragedy. A reconnoitering force stole through the woods and surprised the French garrison with three English cheers. Then the four hundred circled around a hill and fired a dozen houses filled with pitch, tar, and brandy. The houses and the naval stores burned vigorously and smoked tremendously. A favoring wind drove the smoke upon the not-far-distant grand battery, the garrison of which, believing that under cover of the shifting darkness the whole English army would soon pounce upon them, spiked their guns, threw their loose powder into a well, turned and fled and did not tarry until they reached the town a mile away. The Americans occupied the battery, gathered in the cattle, drilled out the spiked 42-pounders,



Letter by Pepperrell and Warren, May 7, 1745

May 2

and turned some of the French guns upon the French fort. 1745

Pepperrell's first battery was three-quarters of a mile from the walls. By the fifth of May, a second battery had been planted at shorter range and the two, with the grand battery which was now in good working order, smote the town with shot and shell. Another battery was erected within seven hundred yards of the walls and the four kept up their hot work continuously. After Duchambon's refusal to surrender, another battery was advanced to within two hundred and fifty yards of the west gate. On the sixteenth, Pepperrell found thirty French cannons submerged below low-water mark. The guns were raised and put into action. Three days later the English fleet captured the French frigate "Vigilant" heavily laden with military stores—a great relief to the American troops many of whom had been prostrated by dysentery and unaccustomed exposure. May 19

More Good Luck

Louisburg Memorial Medal

Warren could not get into the harbor with his ships; the island battery lay in his way and bore pounding like a rock. An attempt was made to carry it by a night assault and half the storming party were left, killed, wounded, or captive. A battery was established at Lighthouse Point whence shells were thrown into the island battery, the fire of which gradually weakened. Preparations were made for an assault on the city where red-hot shot fell in fiery showers and shells exploded in the streets, forcing the French gunners to flee to shelter.

Was it Luck?

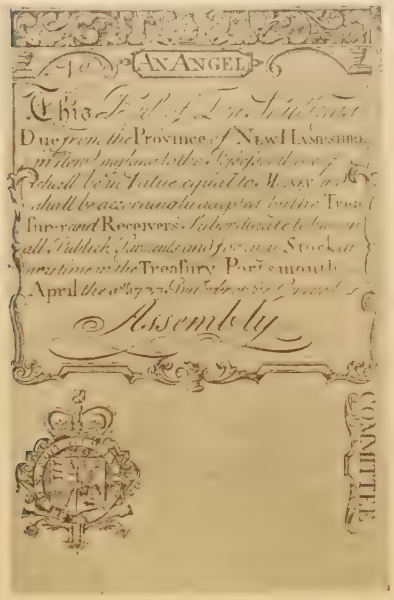
May 26

Louisburg Taken

The English fleet was reinforced, the land-gate was demolished, the fortress walls were riddled, the town was in ruins, the French troops were worn out by the forty-nine days' "pegging away," and a general assault was

1723 1745 evidently in preparation; further resistance was useless. On the sixteenth of June, Duchambon capitulated with the honors of war and, on the morrow, Pepperrell, the fish-merchant, was in the fortress. Victory had condoned the admitted wildness of the project. It was the seventeenth of June, 1745, thirty years to a day in advance of Bunker Hill for which Louisburg furnished training and inspiration. As we shall see in the next volume, the New England colonies were reimbursed by the mother country for the money cost of the conquest and, in 1748, the treaty that marked the end of the war restored the formidable fortress to France. The historic Louisburg is now nothing but a mass of ruins. The small modern village of the same name is about three miles from the site of the old fortress.

New Hampshire Under John Wentworth



New Hampshire Ten-Shilling Bill of 1737

For six years after the departure of Governor Shute, John Wentworth, as acting governor, conducted the affairs of New Hampshire as those of a separate province. During the Indian war, he took wise measures for defense; after a while, Rasle's death brought relief and then Dummer's treaty brought the longed-for peace. Of course, there were struggles with the assembly over the salary and other questions. Finally, the New Hampshire house asked for annexation to Massachusetts and the arrival of Governor Burnet soon brought the two provinces once more under a single head.

July, 1728

When Belcher came, he promptly quarreled with the New Hampshire lieutenant-governor and began to work up a party in his own interest. Wentworth died in December, 1730. His successor, David Dunbar, was a combative man with a strong personal dislike for his superior. Belcher and Dunbar each had his adherents. One party strove for annexation to Massachusetts and the other for total separation and a governor. The latter scheme won favor in England where there was a marked preference for unchartered royal provinces. When Belcher was removed, Benning Wentworth, the son of the late lieutenant-governor and the real leader of the popular party, chanced to be in England. He returned to New Hampshire as royal governor. New Hampshire was never again yoked with Massachusetts under a single executive.

1730–1745

David Dunbar

December 13, 1741

Governor Wentworth's display was almost vice-regal; his coach and troop of guards were thought to be well worth going to Portsmouth to see. He secured an appointment as surveyor of the woods and thus added largely to his income. He became Governor Shirley's warm adherent and, tearing a leaf from Governor Belcher's book, freely appointed his own relatives and friends to office. His enemies charged him with corruption and there is a story that "he press-ganged and sent to sea" the objecting father of a pretty girl whom he desired to marry.

Governor Wentworth

William Vaughan, son of the former lieutenant-governor, brought the Louisburg expedition to the notice of the New Hampshire assembly and secured a vote for raising an auxiliary force. Vaughan's friends have claimed that the expedition was first conceived by him. Wentworth had instructions not to consent to the issue of bills of credit except for the purpose of repaying moneys advanced by the king, but under the advice of Shirley, he took the risk involved in the issue of thirteen thousand pounds. It was while this matter was pending that Shirley wrote his letter to Wentworth concerning the command of the Louisburg expedition; it was just after

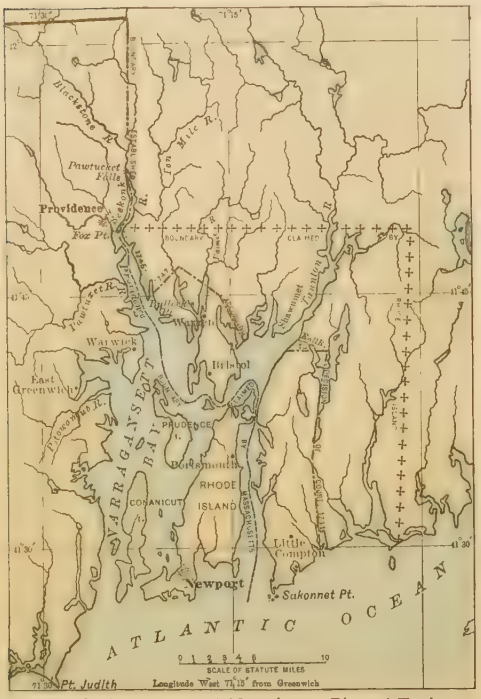
Ambition and Finance

February 2, 1745

1720–1731 the grant had been made that Shirley announced Pepperell's appointment.

Rhode Island

For thirty years Rhode Island continued Samuel Cranston in office as governor, probably the longest term for any colonial official who had to stand the test of annual elections. Taxes were heavy, laws were loose, and peculiar sects sprang up like mushrooms and like mushrooms disappeared. The colony's bills of credit had become little better than a pest to herself and to the neighboring colonies and the Connecticut boundary was the cause of continued contentions. In 1720, Rhode Island gave notice of her intention "to make our appeal to the king in council for his determination and decree of our western bounds." In 1726, the case was decided and the line was drawn northward from the mouth of the Ashaway River where it falls into the Pawcatuck. Not until twenty years after that was the northern and eastern boundary fixed.



Map of Rhode Island and Massachusetts Disputed Territory

Governor Jenckes

Governor Cranston died in April, 1727. His successor was Joseph Jenckes who had served the colony as an official most of the time for more than forty years. In 1731, he refused to approve a bill for the issue of bills of credit and indorsed his dissent on the engrossed copy the day after the adjournment of the assembly. The validity of the veto was questioned and a meeting of the

assembly was demanded. Jenckes refused to issue the call and Deputy-governor John Wanton assumed the authority to convoke the legislature. The assembly declared that the governor's tardy dissent was of no effect. Jenckes appealed to England and the law officers of the crown reported that by the Rhode Island charter "no negative voice is given to the governor;" nor was "any power reserved to the crown of approving or disapproving the laws to be made." 1732 1743

John Wanton

Governor Jenckes having given notice in 1731 that he would not serve another term, William Wanton was elected governor in May, 1732. Nothing in his career lingers in the minds of men more persistently than his wooing. His parents were Quakers and his choice was the daughter of a Congregational deacon. Objections to the match being made on both sides, the young swain said: "Friend Ruth, let us break from this unreasonable bondage. I will give up my religion and thou shalt thine and we will go over to the church of England and go to the Devil together." They were married and became life-long Episcopalians. William Wanton died in December, 1733, and, in the following May, his brother John was elected as his successor. John

Wanton and Wanton

William Wanton

1724 1741 Wanton died in July, 1740, and was succeeded by Richard Ward, the deputy-governor. Governor Ward was succeeded in 1743 by William Greene who held the office until 1755, excepting two years when Gideon Wanton was governor.

Connecticut Quiet and Prosperous

In Connecticut, as in Rhode Island, there was no royal governor to stir up a contest with the people over salaries, rights, and prerogatives and, as a general thing, public affairs were conducted in the old-fashioned way. Almost wholly exempt from Indian wars and with little danger of outside interference, Connecticut was the most prosperous and happy of the colonies. There was nothing more threatening than the Mohegan claims, the fanaticism of the Rogerenes, and the determination of the Rhode Island boundary line.

Richard Ward

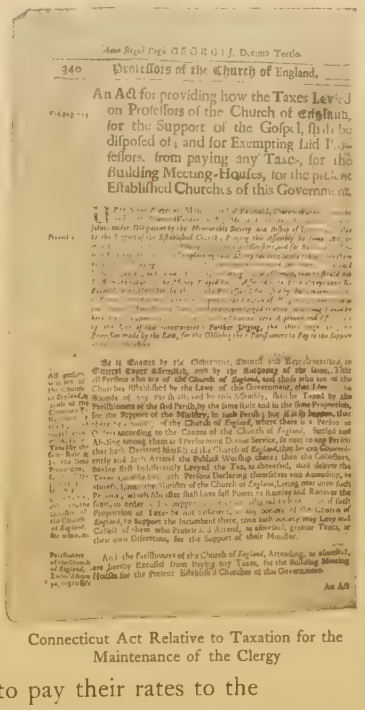
Governor Talcott

After sixteen years of service, Governor Saltonstall died in 1724 and was succeeded by Joseph Talcott. He remained in office until his death in 1741, covering thus the rest of Belcher's term in Massachusetts. Mr. Lodge has admirably summarized the record of these days thus: "The general court came and went year after year, made necessary and wholesome laws, kept the finances sound and pure, and free from the paper contagion, encouraged their college, looked after their rights in England, and carried on a steady, frugal government, which was probably one of the best the world has ever seen, and offers no material for history."

A Copper Threepence of Connecticut, 1737

When Governor Talcott died, Jonathan Law, the lieutenant-governor, was promoted. When the Spanish war broke out, Connecticut freely gave both men and money. Of her sons who joined Vernon's expedition, few ever saw their homes again. When Shirley proposed his expedition against Louisburg, Governor Law convoked the general court in special session and Lieutenant-governor Roger Wolcott led the Connecticut contingent. When peace came, Connecticut was loaded with a heavy debt, a new experience then, but a burden that long weighed upon her people. 1706 1745 Governor Law

By Connecticut law every man was required to contribute according to his ability to the support of the settled ministers — an arrangement that had worked fairly well for sixty years. About 1706, a missionary of the church of England began to preach in Stratford and, in 1722, another was settled there. The members of this church objected to supporting their own minister and paying rates for the Congregational minister too. They therefore showed a disposition to appeal to English law — the very last thing that Connecticut desired. In 1727, the general court, loosening the bonds between church and state, made it possible for an Episcopalian church to be established in any town, its members to be exempt from paying rates for the Congregational establishment and to be obliged to pay taxes for the support of their own minister. They who were not members of any church were still obliged to pay their rates to the Church and State



Anno Regni Regis GEORGII I. Decimo Tertio.

340 Profeſſors of the Church of England,

An Act for providing how the Taxes Levied on Profeſſors of the Church of England, for the Support of the Goſpel, ſhall be diſpoſed of; and for Exempting ſaid Profeſſors, from paying any Taxes, for the Building Meeting-Houſes, for the publick Eſtabliſhed Churches of this Government.

Be it Enacted by the Governour, Council and Repreſentatives, in General Court aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, That all Perſons who are of the Church of England, and thoſe alſo who are of the Churches eſtabliſhed by the Laws of the Government, ſhall live within the Bounds of any Pariſh allowed by this Aſſembly, ſhall be Taxed by the Pariſhioners of the ſaid Pariſh, by the ſame Rule and in the ſame Proportion, for the Support of the Miniſtry, in ſuch Pariſh; but if it ſo happen, that there be no Miniſter of the Church of England, where there is a Perſon in Holy Orders according to the Canons of the Church of England, Settled and Abiding among them as Officiating Divine Service, ſo near to any Perſons that hath Declared himſelf to be of the Church of England, that he can Conveniently and Juſtly Attend the Publick Worſhip there: then the Collectors, having firſt Juſtifyingly Levyed the Tax, as aforeſaid, ſhall deliver the Taxes Collected, ſuch Perſons Declaring themſelves ſo Attending, to the Miniſter of the Church of England, living next unto ſuch Perſons, which Miniſter ſhall have full Power to Receive and Recover the ſame, in order to the Support of the Miniſtry of the Church of England, to Support the Incumbent there, upon ſuch Notice may Levy and Collect of them who Profeſs and Attend, as aforeſaid, greater Taxes, or their own Diſcretion, for the Support of their Miniſter.

Pariſhioners of the Church of England, &c. exempted from paying Taxes for the Building Meeting Houſes.

And be it Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That the Pariſhioners of the Church of England, Attending, as aforeſaid, are hereby Exempted from Paying any Taxes, for the Building Meeting Houſes for the Preſent Eſtabliſh'd Churches of this Government.

And be it

Connecticut Act Relative to Taxation for the Maintenance of the Clergy

1734–1745 Spiritual Revivification

"prime ancient society." In 1729, the Baptists and the Quakers were given the benefit of the act of 1727.

The revival that followed the earthquake of 1727 had relieved the spiritual drought that was upon the people, but "the goodness of many appeared like the morning cloud and early dew which goeth away." The revival of 1734, nurtured by Jonathan Edwards, prepared the soil for the seed and, in 1740, came Whitefield and the "great awakening." In 1745, Whitefield revisited Connecticut and the general association resolved that it would not be wise for ministers to admit him to their pulpits nor for the people to attend his meetings. In the meantime had come a swarm of lay exhorters with fantastic doctrines and with "noise and out-cry, both of distress and joy, in time of divine service" and the "New Light" schism. The Separatists at Stonington elected their first minister by revelation. In less than one year they chose him, ordained him, silenced him, cast him out of the church, and delivered him up to Satan. The authorized clergy and the general court joined hands for the suppression of the heresy. When the seceders refused to pay the rates levied for the support of the ministry that they had rejected, the property of some was sold for less than its real value and others were taken to jail. "A faint flavor of the Inquisition began to pervade the ecclesiastical system of the colony."

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

THE following lists are intended to be helpful to the student of this volume by way of suggestion for supplementary reading; they are not offered as complete lists of works consulted by the author. Helpful suggestions are contained in the paragraph introductory to the bibliographical appendix to the first volume of this work. Valuable side-lights on many of the topics herein considered may be found in other general histories of the United States, such as Bancroft's, Hildreth's, etc., some of which are cited in the appendix to the first volume. As the reader can easily find what he wants by reference to the indexes of those works, the following lists omit such references. The general arrangement of this bibliography is similar to that used in the preceding volumes.

CHAPTER I — CAROLINA

NOTE. — There is a remarkable deficiency of printed authorities for early Carolina history. We have no formal record of the legislative proceedings in North Carolina in the seventeenth century and those for South Carolina are few and scanty until after the overthrow of the proprietary government. As the two practically distinct colonies were under the government of a single corporation, the documents relating to either one are sadly mixed with those of the other.

1 **Andrews, Charles M.** FOUNDATION OF THE CAROLINAS, in *Colonial Self-Government* (New York, 1904), chap. 9.

2 **Bassett, John S.** SLAVERY AND SERVITUDE IN THE COLONY OF NORTH CAROLINA (Baltimore, 1896), in Johns Hopkins University *Studies*, series 14.

3 **Bourne, Henry R. F.** LIFE OF JOHN LOCKE (London, 1876, 2 vols.), vol. 2, p. 235.

4 BUCCANEERS OF THE SPANISH MAIN, in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 11 (1855), p. 514; vol. 19(1859), p. 20; vol. 78(1888), p. 116.

5 **Burney, James.** HISTORY OF THE BUCCANEERS OF AMERICA (London, 1891), pp. 334 to end.

6 **Bynum, Ernest T.** Seven Years of unwritten History of North Carolina, 1669–1676, in *Trinity (N. C.) Archive*, vol. 5(1891–92), pp. 314–319.

7 **Carroll, B. R.** Historical Collections of South Carolina. New York, 1836, 2 vols.

8 **Chalmers, George.** Political Annals of the Present United Colonies (London, 1780), chap. 18 of book 1; reprinted in Carroll's *Historical Collections* (7), vol. 2, p. 273. Continuation, 1689–1696, in *Collections* of the New York Historical Society (95), Fund series, vol. 1(1868). Badly biased.

9 Charleston Year Books, 1885–1899. In the administration of Mayor William A. Courtenay (1879–87) and under his influence, the city of Charleston secured transcripts of the *Shaftesbury Papers* and began the publication of a series of "Year Books" that contain much original material relating to the colonial period.

10 Charters of 1663 and 1665, in Poore's *Charters and Constitutions of the United States* (United States Government Printing Office, 1878, 2 vols.), pp. 1383–1390; in MacDonald's *Select Charters*, 1606–1775 (New York, 1904), pp. 120, 148; in *American History Leaflets*, edited by Albert B. Hart and Edward Channing (New York, 1892–96, 30 Nos.), No. 16. Concerning the significance of the expression, "as of the Manor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent," see *American Historical Review*, vol. 11 (1905), p. 29.

11 **Cheves, Langdon, editor.** Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records relating to Carolina and the first Settlement on the Ashley River prior to the Year 1676. Charleston, 1897. Constitutes vol. 5 of *Collections* of the South Carolina Historical Society (31).

12 **Doyle, John A.** English Colonies in America (New York, 1889–1907, 5 vols.), vol. 1, chap. 12.

13 Fundamental Constitutions, 1669, in Poore's *Charters and Constitutions of the United States* (10), p. 1397; in Carroll's *Collections* (7), vol. 2; in *Colonial Records of North Carolina* (28), vol. 1, p. 187; and in *Old South Leaflets* (Boston, 1890–1906), No. 172.

14 **Fiske, John.** Old Virginia and her Neighbours (New York, 1898, 2 vols.), vol. 2, chaps. 15, 16.

15 **Hamilton, Peter J.** The Colonization of the South (Philadelphia, 1904), chap. 7.

16 **Hart, Albert B.** American History told by Contemporaries (New York, 1898–1900, 4 vols.), vol. 1, chap. 12.

17 **Hawks, Francis L.** History of North Carolina (Fayetteville, 1857–58, 2 vols.), vol. 2(1663–1729).

18 **Hilton, William.** Relation of a Discovery lately made on the Coast of Florida. London, 1664; reprinted in *North Carolina Colonial Records* (28), vol. 1. Believed to be the earliest publication relating to the Carolinas.

19 **Hughson, Shirley C.** The Carolina Pirates and Colonial Commerce (Baltimore, 1894), in Johns Hopkins University *Studies*, series 12.

20 Indexes to Documents relative to North Carolina during the Colonial Existence [on File in London], transmitted in 1827 by Mr. [Albert] Gallatin. Raleigh, 1843. Published by the legislature in 1842–43; reissued as an appendix to *North Carolina University Magazine*, vol. 1 (1844).

21 **McCrady, Edward.** History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government (New York, 1897), chaps. 1–10.

22 **Moore, John W.** History of North Carolina from the earliest Discoveries to the present Time (Raleigh, 1880, 2 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 1–46.

23 **Osgood, Herbert L.** The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (New York, 1904, 2 vols.), vol. 2, chaps. 9, 10.

24 **Ramsay, David.** History of South Carolina, 1670–1708. Charleston, 1809, 2 vols. Later edition, Newberry, 1858.

25 **Raper, Charles L.** North Carolina — A Study in English Colonial Government (New York, 1904), chap. 1.

26 **Rivers, William J.** The Carolinas, in Winsor's *America* (36), vol. 5, chap. 5.

27 **Sainsbury, W. Noël.** Calendar of [British] State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1661–1668, pp. xviii–xxii (and the references therein contained), 126, and later volumes.

28 **Saunders, William L., editor.** Colonial Records of North Carolina (Raleigh, 1881–91, 10 vols.), vol. 1.

29 **Smith, W. Roy.** History of South Carolina as a Proprietary Province. New York, 1903.

30 South Carolina Archives (The). In the office of the secretary of state are 36 folio volumes containing copies of documents relating to the colonial history of South Carolina, transcripts from the British Public Record Office. Indexed but not published.

31 South Carolina Historical Society (The) has published five volumes of *Collections* (1857–97), and *Documents* connected with the history of South Carolina (London, 1856), edited by Plowden C. J. Weston. It has also published the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* since January, 1900.

32 Statutes at Large of South Carolina (Columbia, 1836, etc.), vol. 1, p. 31; vol. 7, pp. 343, 344.

33 **Weeks, Stephen B.** Bibliography of North Carolina. This work, announced in 1906, is intended to include "every known book, pamphlet or magazine article of importance dealing with the State or any part of the same, or with the career of North Carolinians."

34 **Wendell, Barrett.** A Literary History of America (New York, 1900), pp. 35–56.

35 **Whitney, Edson L.** Bibliography of the Colonial History of South Carolina, in *Annual Report* of American Historical Association for 1894, pp. 563–586.

36 **Winsor, Justin, editor.** Narrative and Critical History of America. Boston and New York, 1884–89, 8 vols. See critical essay on the sources of information, vol. 5, pp. 335–356.

CHAPTER II — VIRGINIA — BACON'S REBELLION

37 **Andrews, Charles M.** Bacon's Rebellion and its Results, in *Colonial Self-Government* (1), chap. 14.

38 Bacon's Rebellion. The text of Bacon's *Proclamations* is printed in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (56), vol. 1 (1893), pp. 55–63. Accounts of the rebellion by William Sherwood and Philip Ludwell are printed in the same volume, pp. 167–186. Also see Hart's *Contemporaries* (16), vol. 1, p. 242; *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 74(1804), p. 807; vol. 86(1816), part 2, p. 297; vol. 95(1825), part 1, p. 20; *Notes and Queries*, series 2, vol. 11(1861), p. 202; series 3, vol. 12 (1867), p. 480; *Burwell Papers* (42), and *Winder Papers* (58), and *Eggleston Mss.* (48).

39 **Berkeley, Sir William.** List of those that have been executed for the late Rebellion. See Force's *Tracts* (50), vol. 1, No. 10.

40 **Bruce, Philip A.** Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century. New York, 1896, 2 vols.

41 **Burk, John D.** Virginia (Petersburg, Va., 1804–16, 4 vols.), vol. 2, chaps. 4, 5, 6.

42 Burwell Papers (The) contain a "Narrative of the Indian and Civil Wars in Virginia in the Years of 1675 and 1676." First printed in the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society (197), series 2, vol. 1, pp. 27–80. A more perfect copy was subsequently published by the same society in its *Proceedings* for 1866–67. Also see Moses Coit Tyler's *History of American Literature, 1606–1676* (New York, 1886), pp. 69–80.

43 **Byrd, William.** The History of the Dividing Line and Other Tracts (written, 1728–1736), edited by Thomas H. Wynne. Richmond, 1866. The first edition of Byrd's writings was printed in 1841 and appeared under the general title of "The Westover Manuscripts;" the edition of 1866, under the title of "The Byrd Manuscripts." A later edition of *The Writings of Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia*, with notes and a biographical sketch by John S. Bassett, was printed at New York, in 1901.

44 Causes of Discontent in Virginia, 1676, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (56), vol. 2(1894–95), pp. 166–173, 289–292, 380–392; vol. 3(1895–96), pp. 35–42, 132–160.

45 **Cooke, John E.** Virginia (Boston, 1884), part 2, chaps. 11–20.

46 **Doyle, John A.** Virginia after the Restoration, in *English Colonies* (12), vol. 1, chap. 9.

47 **Eggleston, Edward.** Nathaniel Bacon, the Patriot of 1676, in *Century Magazine*, vol. 40(1890), pp. 418–434.

48 Eggleston Mss. (The). Narratives by Nathaniel Bacon and others, in the Virginia State Library, being copies of papers in the British Public Record Office. Printed in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, vol. 9(1900–01), pp. 1–10.

49 **Fiske, John.** Bacon's Rebellion, in *Old Virginia and her Neighbours* (14), vol. 2, chap. 11.

50 **Force, Peter.** Collection of Historical Tracts. Washington, 1836–46, 4 vols. Nos. 8, 9, 10, and 11 of vol. 1.

51 **Hening, William W.** Statutes at Large [of Virginia], 1619–1792 (Philadelphia and New York, 1823, 13 vols.), vol. 2, pp. 341–365, 543.

52 Letter of Mrs. Nathaniel Bacon to her Sister (concerning a murder committed by the Indians in 1676), in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (56), vol. 5(1897–98), p. 218.

53 **Neill, Edward D.** Virginia Carolorum, 1625–1685. Albany, 1886.

54 **Sainsbury, W. Noël.** Calendar of [British] State Papers, Colonial Series. The volumes for the years covered by this chapter include many important documents, most of which have never been printed in full.

55 **Stanard, Mary N.** The Story of Bacon's Rebellion. New York, 1907.

56 Virginia Historical Society (The) has published at Richmond its *Collections* in a series of 11 vols. It also publishes the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*.

57 **Ware, William.** Memoir of Nathaniel Bacon, in Sparks's *Library of American Biography*, series 2, vol. 3, pp. 239–306.

58 Winder Papers (The), in the Virginia State Library, contain a "Narrative of Bacon's Rebellion." Also see *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (56), vol. 4(1896–97), pp. 117–154; vol. 5(1897–98), pp. 64–70.

59 **Winsor, Justin.** Maryland and Virginia, in Winsor's *America* (36), vol. 5, p. 263.

60 **Yonge, Samuel H.** The Site of Old "James Towne," 1607–1698. Richmond, 1904. Also see *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (56), vols. 11 and 12.

CHAPTER III — MARYLAND AFTER THE RESTORATION

NOTE. — Additional information may be found in works previously cited in this bibliography and indicated by the marginal numbers (titles) **1**, **12**, and **14**. Consult the indexes of such works.

61 **Alsop, George.** A CHARACTER OF THE PROVINCE OF MARYLAND. London, 1666. The original edition is a very rare book. It was reprinted as Gowans's *Bibliotheca Americana*, No. 5, edited by John G. Shea (New York, 1869), which was reissued in 1880 by the Maryland Historical Society (**67**) as *Fund Publication*, No. 15. The latest and best reprint is that edited by Newton D. Mereness (Cleveland, 1902). Also see Hart's *Contemporaries* (**16**), vol. 1, p. 267.

62 ARCHIVES OF MARYLAND. William H. Browne, editor. Baltimore, 1883–1906, 26 vols. +.

63 **Brantly, William T.** THE ENGLISH IN MARYLAND, in Winsor's *America* (**36**), vol. 3, pp. 542–553, 557, 558.

64 **Browne, William H.** MARYLAND. THE HISTORY OF A PALATINATE. Boston, 1884; revised and enlarged, Boston, 1904.

65 **Hall, Clayton C.** THE LORDS BALTIMORE AND THE MARYLAND PALATINATE (Baltimore, 1902), chaps. 2, 4, 5.

66 **Jones, Frederick R.** THE COLONIZATION OF THE MIDDLE STATES (Philadelphia, 1904), chap. 9.

67 MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY (THE) has published *Archives of Maryland* (**62**) and a series of *Fund Publications*. In March, 1906, it began the publication of a quarterly, the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

68 MASON AND DIXON LINE. See *Message from the Governor* [*P. F. Thomas*] *of Maryland . . . in relation to the Intersection of the Boundary Lines of the States of Maryland, Pennsylvania & Delaware* (Washington, 1850. Second edition, Chicago, 1862); James Veech's *Mason and Dixon's Line: A History. Including an Outline of the Boundary Controversy between Pennsylvania and Virginia* (Pittsburgh, 1857, 58 pages), a rare tract; J. H. B. Latrobe's *Address* before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1854 (published by the society); a brief, illustrated article in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 53(1876), p. 549; an article on the notes of the survey in the *Magazine of Western History*, vol. 5(1887), p. 452; and Hart's *Contemporaries* (**16**), vol. 2, p. 107. For other titles relating to Maryland's boundary disputes, see Sabin and Eames's *Dictionary of Books relating to America* (New York, 1868–92, 19 vols. +), No. 45090.

69 **Mathews, Edward B.** THE MAPS AND MAP-MAKERS OF MARYLAND. Baltimore, 1898. Forms *Special Publication*, vol. 2, part 3b, of Maryland Geological Survey, and is valuable for the cartography of the boundary disputes of Maryland.

70 **Mereness, Newton D.** Maryland as a Proprietary Province. New York, 1901.
71 **Riley, Elihu S.** A History of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1635–1904. Baltimore [1905].
72 **Scharf, John T.** History of Maryland (Baltimore, 1879, 3 vols.), vol. 1, chaps. 11, 12.
73 **Sparks, Frederick E.** Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689 (Baltimore, 1896), in Johns Hopkins University *Studies*, series 14, Nos. 11, 12.
74 **Steiner, Bernard C.** The Protestant Revolution in Maryland, in *Annual Report* of American Historical Association for 1897, p. 281.
75 **Thomas, James W.** Chronicles of Colonial Maryland. Baltimore [1900].
76 **Whealton, Louis N.** The Maryland and Virginia Boundary Controversy (1668–1894). [New York, 1905.]

CHAPTER IV — NEW YORK

Note. — See the note on page 412, and titles **12, 27, 54, 66.**

77 **Andrews, Charles M.** The Province of New York, in *Colonial Self-Government* (1), chaps. 5, 6.
78 **Baldwin, Simeon E.** American Jurisdiction of the Bishop of London in Colonial Times, in *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society (184), October, 1899.
79 **Brodhead, J. Romeyn.** History of the State of New York (New York, 1853–71, 2 vols.), vol. 2, p. 385, et passim.
80 Charter of Liberties and Privileges, 1683, in *Colonial Laws*, (81), vol. 1, p. 111; also in Joel Munsell's *Annals of Albany*, vol. 4; also see New York *Genealogical and Biographical Record*, vol. 18(1887), pp. 49–63; also see John T. Driscoll's article in *Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society, vol. 4(New York, 1906), pp. 5–53.
81 Colonial Laws of New York (Albany, 1894, 5 vols.), vol. 1.
82 **Dankers, Jasper,** and **Sluyter, Peter.** Journal of a Voyage to New York . . . in 1679–1680, edited by Henry C. Murphy. Brooklyn, 1867. Forms vol. 1 of *Memoirs* of the Long Island Historical Society (1867).
83 **Denton, Daniel.** A Brief Description of New York, formerly called New Netherlands. London, 1670. Cleveland, 1902. The first separate English account of New York.
84 Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York. Edmund B. O'Callaghan and Berthold Fernow, editors. Albany, 1853–83, 15 quarto vols.
85 Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York (Albany, 1901–05, 6 vols. and in progress), vols. 1 and 2.

86 **Fernow, Berthold.** The Middle Colonies, in Winsor's *America* (36), vol. 5, p. 189.

87 **Fiske, John.** The Dutch and Quaker Colonies (Boston and New York, 1899, 2 vols.), vol. 2, pp. 1–98; 168–191.

88 Grants to the Duke of York, in Poore's *Charters* (10), pp. 783, 786, 1328; in *American History Leaflets* (10), No. 16; and in MacDonald's *Select Charters* (10), p. 136. The originals of the two grants are in the New York State Library.

89 **Hoffman, Charles F.** The Administration of Jacob Leisler, in Sparks's *Library of American Biography* (Boston, 1844), series 2, vol. 3, pp. 179–238.

90 **Lamb, Martha J.** History of the City of New York (New York, 1877, 2 vols.; 1896, 3 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 218–358.

91 **Lee, Francis B.** New Jersey as a Colony and as a State (New York, 1902, 4 vols.), vol. 1, chap. 6.

92 **Leisler, Jacob.** Documents Relating to His Administration, in *Collections* of the New York Historical Society (95), series 3, vol. 1, and in *Documentary History of New York* (96), vol. 2, pp. 1–438. Also see Fiske's *Dutch and Quaker Colonies* (87), vol. 2, p. 357; and Fortescue's *Calendar of* [*British*] *State Papers, Colonial Series, America and the West Indies, 1689–92*, London, 1901.

93 **McAdam, David, and others.** History of the Bench and Bar of New York (New York, 1897), vol. 1, pp. 1–93.

94 New York Colonial Records, 1664–1673, in *Report* of the New York State Historian for 1896, appendix G, pp. 135–369.

95 New York Historical Society (The) has published at New York three series of *Collections*. The history of the society (1804–1904), by R. H. Kelby, contains a list of the publications of the society and gives the contents of each volume of the *Collections*.

96 **O'Callaghan, Edmund B.** Documentary History of New York (Albany, 1849–51, 4 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 85–93, 145–191; vol. 3, pp. 65–103; vol. 4, pp. 133–163.

97 **O'Callaghan, Edmund B., editor.** Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, 1638–1674. Albany, 1868.

98 **Osgood, Herbert L., editor.** Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1675–1776 (New York, 1905, 8 vols.), vol. 1 (1675–1696). This is an important body of official records, printed here for the first time.

99 **Roberts, Ellis H.** New York (New York, 1887, 2 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 115–207.

100 **Roosevelt, Theodore.** New York (London and New York, 1891), pp. 38–60.

101 **Schuyler, George W.** Jacob Leisler, in his *Colonial New York* (New York, 1885, 2 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 337–380.

102 **Semple, Alice C.** American History and its Geographic Conditions (Boston, 1903), chap. 3. A very valuable work.

103 **Smith, William.** History of the late Province of New York, from its Discovery to 1762 (New York, 1829–30, 2 vols.), vol. 1; in *Collections* of the New York Historical Society (**95**), series 1, vols. 4, 5. The original edition was published at London in 1757 and carried the history down to 1732.

104 **Smith, Helen E.** The Huguenots in New York, in *Colonial Days and Ways* (New York, 1905), chaps. 7, 8, 9.

105 **Stevens, John A.** The English in New York, in Winsor's *America* (**36**), vol. 3, chap. 10.

106 **Valentine, David T.** History of the City of New York (New York, 1853), pp. 1–209.

107 **Whitmore, William H.** Sir Edmund Andros, in *Andros Tracts* (**216**), vol. 1, pp. 5–49.

108 **Wilson, James G.** Memorial History of the City of New York (New York, 1892, 4 vols.), vol. 1.

109 **Winsor, Justin.** Denonville and Dongan, in his *Cartier to Frontenac* (Boston, 1894), pp. 326–340.

110 **Wolley, Charles.** A Two Years' Journal in New York, 1678–80. London, 1701. Reprinted at Cleveland, 1902.

CHAPTER V—NEW JERSEY

Note.—See the note on page 412, and titles **1, 12, 23, 87, 91.**

111 **Barclay, David.** An Account of East Jersey, 1684, in Hart's *Contemporaries* (**16**), vol. 1, p. 569.

112 Brief Account of the Province of East-West-Jarsey in America. Edinburg, 1683; Morrisania, N. Y., 1867.

113 **Budd, Thomas.** Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey in America [Philadelphia, William Bradford, 1685], reprinted at Cleveland, 1902.

114 Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors of East Jersey, 1665, in Leaming and Spicer's *Grants, Concessions, and Original Constitutions of the Province of New Jersey* (Philadelphia 1758; reprinted, 1884), p. 12; MacDonald's *Select Charters* (**10**), p. 141; Hart's *Contemporaries* (**16**), vol. 1, p. 563.

115 Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the Province of West New Jersey in America, 1677, in Leaming and Spicer's *Grants* (**114**), p. 382; MacDonald's *Select Charters* (**10**), p. 174; *Liberty Bell Leaflets* (Philadelphia, 1898), No. 2.

116 Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey. Series 1, edited by W. A. Whitehead, F. W. Ricord, and W. Nelson (Newark and Paterson, 1880–1903, 25 vols.), vol. 1; vol. 2, pp. 1–37; *Journal of Governor and Council*, vol. 13, pp. 1–188. Known in brief as "New Jersey Archives."

117 Journall of the Procedure of the Governor and Councill of the Province of East New Jersey from . . . December, 1682 [to 1703]. Jersey City, 1872.

118 **Mulford, Isaac S.** Civil and Political History of New Jersey. Camden, 1848; Philadelphia, 1851.

119 **Nelson, William.** The Public Archives of New Jersey, in *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1903, vol. 1, p. 479.

120 New Jersey Historical Society (The) has published eight volumes of *Collections* including a second and enlarged edition of vol. 1 (Newark, 1846–75), and three series of *Proceedings*. The first series consists of ten volumes, 1845–1866 (Newark, 1847–67); the second series, of thirteen volumes, 1867–1895 (Newark and Paterson, 1869–99); the third series, of three volumes, 1896–1899 (Paterson, 1899–1906). An enumeration of the most important contents of the *Collections* is given in Larned's *Literature of American History*, p. 370. See also William Nelson's *Fifty Years of Historical Work in New Jersey, with a Bibliography of the Society*, Paterson, 1898.

121 **Smith, Samuel.** History of the Colony of Nova Cæsaria or New Jersey. Burlington, New Jersey, 1765. Reprinted at Trenton, 1877.

122 **Whitehead, William A.** The English in East and West Jersey, in Winsor's *America* (**36**), vol. 3, chap. 11.

CHAPTER VI — PENNSYLVANIA

Note.—See the note on page 412, and titles **12, 68, 72, 87, 113.**

123 **Bolles, Albert S.** Pennsylvania, Province and State. Philadelphia and New York, 1899, 2 vols.

124 **Buck, William J.** William Penn in America. Philadelphia, 1888.

125 Charter of 1681, in Linn's *Charter to William Penn and Laws of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1879), p. 93; Poore's *Charters* (**10**), p. 1509; MacDonald's *Select Charters* (**10**), p. 183; Preston's *Documents Illustrative of American History* (New York, 1886), p. 130; *American History Leaflets* (**10**), No. 16; *Liberty Bell Leaflets* (**115**), No. 4; and in Fiske's *Dutch and Quaker Colonies* (**87**), vol. 2, p. 370.

126 **Clarkson, Thomas.** Memoirs of the Public and Private Life of William Penn. London, 1813; Philadelphia, 1814, 2 vols.

127 **Dixon, William H.** History of William Penn. London and Philadelphia, 1851. Last edition, New York, 1902.

128 **Du Ponceau, Peter S.,** and **Fisher, Joshua F.** Memoir on the History of the Treaty made by William Penn with the Indians in 1682, in *Memoirs* of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (**147**), vol. 3, part 2.

129 **Ellis, George E.** William Penn, in Sparks's *Library of American Biography*, series 2, vol. 12.

130 **Etting, Frank M.** Portraiture of William Penn, in *Scribner's Monthly*, vol. 12(1876), p. 1.

131 **Fisher, Sydney G.** Pennsylvania: Colony and Commonwealth (Philadelphia, 1897), pp. 1–66.

132 **Fisher, Sydney G.** The True William Penn. Philadelphia, 1900.

133 Frame of Government, 1682, in *Charter and Laws of Pennsylvania* (125), p. 93; MacDonald's *Select Charters* (10), p. 192; *Liberty Bell Leaflets* (115), No. 3.

134 Frame of Government, 1683, in *Charter and Laws of Pennsylvania* (125), p. 155; MacDonald's *Select Charters* (10), p. 199.

135 **Gordon, Thomas F.** History of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1829), pp. 1–90.

136 **Hazard, Samuel.** Annals of Pennsylvania, 1609–1682. Philadelphia, 1850.

137 **Janney, Samuel M.** Life of William Penn. Philadelphia, 1852, 1882.

138 **Jenkins, Howard M.** The Family of William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1899; also in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (147), vols. 21–23.

139 **Jenkins, Howard M.** Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal (Philadelphia, 1903, 3 vols.), vol. 1, chaps. 1–7.

140 **Keyser, Charles S.** Penn's Treaty with the Indians. Philadelphia, 1882.

141 **Kuhns, Oscar.** The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania. New York, 1901.

142 **Macaulay, Thomas B.** William Penn, in *History of England* (numerous editions), chaps. 4, 5, 7, 8, 17.

143 **Myers, Albert C.** Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania. Swarthmore, Pa., 1902.

144 **Penn, William.** Letters, in *Memoirs* of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (147), vol. 1(1826), pp. 409–422; vol. 2 (1827), pp. 239–247.

145 Pennsylvania Archives; series 1, Philadelphia, 1852–60, 12 vols. and an index volume; series 2, Harrisburg, 1874–93, 19 vols.; series 3, 1894–99, 30 vols.; series 4, 1900–1902, 12 vols.

146 Pennsylvania Colonial Records, 1683–1790. Philadelphia and Harrisburg, 1851–53, 16 vols. Volumes 1–10 are *Minutes of the Provincial Council* (1683–1776).

147 Pennsylvania Historical Society (The) has published at Philadelphia fourteen volumes of *Memoirs* (1826–95), thirteen numbers of a *Bulletin* (1845–47), one volume of *Collections* (1853), the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (1877–current, quarterly), and numerous occasional publications.

148 **Pennypacker, Samuel W.** The Settlement of Germantown, Penna., and the Beginning of German Emigration to North America. Philadelphia, 1899.

149 **Proud, Robert.** History of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1797–98, 2 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 167–339.

150 **Rawle, William B.** The General Title of the Penn Family to Pennsylvania, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (**147**), four papers in vol. 23.

151 **Scharf, John T.,** and **Westcott, Thompson.** History of Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1884, 3 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 30–52, 61–157.

152 **Sharpless, Isaac.** History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1899, 2 vols.

153 **Sharpless, Isaac.** A Quaker Experiment in Government (Philadelphia, 1898), passim.

154 **Shepherd, William R.** Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania, in Columbia University *Studies*, New York, 1896.

155 **Stone, Frederick D.** The Founding of Pennsylvania, in Winsor's *America* (**36**), vol. 3, chap. 12. A fine "Critical Essay on the Sources" is given on pp. 495–516.

156 **Stone, Frederick D.** Penn's Treaty with the Indians. Did it take place in 1682 or 1683?, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (**147**), vol. 6(1882), pp. 217–238.

157 **Stoughton, John.** William Penn, the Founder of Pennsylvania. London, 1882.

158 **Watson, John F.** Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1830, 2 vols. Several later editions.

CHAPTER VII—THE KING PHILIP WAR

159 **Abbott, John S. C.** History of King Philip. New York, 1875.

160 **Bodge, George M.** The Narragansett Fort Fight. Boston, 1886.

161 **Bodge, George M.** Soldiers in King Philip's War (Leominster, Mass., 1896), pp. 24 to end.

162 **Church, Benjamin.** Entertaining Passages Relating to Philip's War. Boston, 1716; many times reprinted. Probably the most popular book concerning the events of the war.

163 **Deane, Charles.** New England, in Winsor's *America* (**36**), vol. 3, pp. 360, 374.

164 **Dexter, Franklin B.** Memoranda respecting Edward Whalley and William Goffe, in *Papers* of the New Haven Colony Historical Society (**203**), vol. 2, p. 117.

165 **Doyle, John A.** The War with Philip, in *English Colonies* (**12**), vol. 3, chap. 3.

166 **Drake, Samuel G.** The Old Indian Chronicle. Boston, 1836; new edition, Boston, 1867.

167 **Ellis, George W.**, and **Morris, John E.** King Philip's War, 1675–1676. New York, 1906.

168 **Fiske, John.** King Philip's War, in *Beginnings of New England* (Boston, 1892), chap. 5.

169 **Gookin, Daniel.** Historical Collections of the Indians in New England (1674), in *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society (**197**), vol. 1, p. 200. Also see *Archæologia Americana* (**184**), vol. 2.

170 **Hubbard, William.** History of the Indian Wars in New England to 1677. Revised by Samuel G. Drake, Roxbury, 1865, 2 vols. Originally printed at Boston and London in 1677. Numerous editions appeared between 1775 and 1814.

171 Indian Slaves in King Philip's War, in *Publications* of Rhode Island Historical Society (**177**), vol. 1(1893), pp. 234–238.

172 **Mather, Increase.** History of King Philip's War; also of the same by Cotton Mather. Edited by Samuel G. Drake. Boston, 1862. Reprinted from the original edition of 1676.

173 **Mather, Increase.** Relation of the Troubles that have Hapned in New England by Reason of the Indians There, 1614–1675. Boston, 1677. Reprinted in 1864 as *The Early History of New England.*

174 **Osgood, Herbert L.** Philip's War, in *The American Colonies* (**23**), vol. 1, chap. 14.

175 **Palfrey, John G.** Philip's War, in his *History of New England* (Boston, 1858–90, 5 vols.), vol. 3, pp. 132–240, or in his *Compendious History of New England* (Boston, 1884, 4 vols.), vol. 2, chaps. 3, 4, 5.

176 Regicides (The), Goffe and Whalley. See *Calendar of State Papers* (**27**), Nos. 45, 81, 96, 161.

177 Rhode Island Historical Society (The) has published at Providence 10 volumes of *Collections* (1827–1902); a quarterly known as *Publications*, from April, 1893, to January, 1901, inclusive, 32 numbers forming 8 volumes; *Proceedings*, from 1872 to 1892 in 21 annual numbers; *Proceedings*, 1900–01 to 1906–07.

178 **Robins, Robert P.** Edward Whalley, the Regicide, in Samuel Whaley's *English Record of the Whaley Family* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1901), pp. 70–80.

179 **Rowlandson, Mary.** A True History of her Captivity. London, 1682. Often reprinted as "Mrs. Rowlandson's Narrative."

180 **Sheldon, George.** Goffe at Hadley, in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. 28, p. 379; vol. 31, p. 425.

181 **Sheldon, George.** Whalley and Goffe in New England, an Enquiry into the Angel of Hadley Legend. Springfield, Mass., 1905, pamphlet.

182 **Stiles, Ezra.** History of Three of the Judges of King Charles [Whalley, Goffe, and Dixwell]. Hartford, 1794.

183 **Winsor, Justin.** The New England Indians: A Bibliographical Survey, 1630–1700, in *Proceedings* of Massachusetts Historical Society (**197**), for November, 1895; reprinted separately. Is an excellent key to the original pamphlets about the King Philip war and tells where the originals may be found.

CHAPTER VIII—THE DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND

Note.—See the note on page 412, and titles **12, 163, 175.**

184 American Antiquarian Society (The) has published its transactions and collections under the title of *Archæologia Americana*. Worcester, Mass., etc., 1820–85, 7 vols.

185 **Arnold, Samuel G.** History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 1636–1790 (New York, 1859–60; Providence, 1894, 2 vols.), vol. 1, chaps. 9–12.

186 **Belknap, Jeremy.** History of New Hampshire, 1615–1790 (Boston, 1813), pp. 1–213.

187 **Byington, Ezra H.** The Puritan as Colonist and Reformer. Boston, 1899.

188 **Chamberlain, Nathan H.** Samuel Sewall and the World he lived in. Boston, 1897.

189 Connecticut Historical Society (The) has published at Hartford 10 volumes of *Collections* (1860–1905); also *Papers and Reports* (1890–93, 4 pamphlets); and *Annual Reports* (1894–1905, 12 pamphlets). The most important articles are enumerated in Larned's *Literature of American History*, p. 360.

190 **Fiske, John.** The Tyranny of Andros, in *New England* (**168**), chap. 6.

191 **Goodwin, John A.** The Pilgrim Republic. Boston, 1888.

192 **Hollister, Gideon H.** History of Connecticut (Hartford, 1857, 2 vols.), vol. 1, chaps. 15 to end.

193 **Hubbard William.** A General History of New England . . . to 1680. Second edition. Boston, 1848. Printed first in 1815 under auspices of the Massachusetts Historical Society (**197**).

194 **James, Bartlett B.** The Colonization of New England (Philadelphia, 1904), chaps. 9–17.

195 **McKinley, Albert E.** The Suffrage Franchise in the Thirteen English Colonies in America. Philadelphia and Boston, 1905.

196 Maine Historical Society (The) has published at Portland a series of *Collections* (1831–87, 9 vols. and, in 1891, a tenth volume, being an "Index to the Collections"); a second and third series of *Collections and Proceedings* (1890–1906, 12 vols.); and a series known as *Documentary History* (1869–1902, 8 vols.+).

197 Massachusetts Historical Society (The) has published at Boston 65 or more volumes of *Collections* and 40 or more volumes of *Proceedings*. An enumeration of the most important articles is given in Larned's *Literature of American History*, pp. 16–18.

198 **Mather, Cotton.** Magnalia Christi Americana; or, The Ecclesiastical History of New England (1620–98). London, 1702; reprinted as two octavo volumes, Hartford, 1820, and best edition, Hartford, 1853.

199 **Mather, Increase.** A Narrative of the Miseries of New England. Boston, 1688. Reprinted in *Old South Leaflets* (13), No. 2.

200 **Maverick, Samuel.** A Briefe Description of New England and the severall Townes therein, together with the present government thereof (1660), in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. 39 (1885), pp. 33–48; also in *Proceedings* of Massachusetts Historical Society (197), series 2, vol. 1, pp. 231–249.

201 New Hampshire Historical Society (The) has published at Concord 10 volumes of *Collections* (1824–94) and a series of *Proceedings* (1872–1905, 4 vols.).

202 New Hampshire Provincial Papers, Town Papers, and State Papers (Concord, 1867–96, 29 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 373–382, et passim.

203 New Haven Colony Historical Society (The) has published at New Haven 6 volumes of *Papers* (1865–1900); also *Annual Reports* since 1901.

204 **Noble, John, editor.** Records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay. Boston, 1901–04, 2 vols. The first volume contains the *Seccond Booke of Records Begunne the 3rd. of March, 1673*. These records extend to the year 1692. The second volume contains the earlier records, 1630–44. A third volume is to fill the gap between vol. 2 and vol. 1.

205 **Randolph, Edward.** Letter to Governor Treat concerning the Quo Warranto against Connecticut, in *New York Colonial Documents* (84), vol. 3, p. 368.

206 **Randolph, Edward.** Memoir and Documents (a publication of the Prince Society, Boston, 1898–99, 5 vols.; memoir by Robert N. Toppan), vols. 1–4; vol. 5, pp. 1–33.

207 [**Rawson, Edward,** and **Sewall, Samuel.**] The Revolution in New England Justified, reprinted in Force's *Tracts* (50), vol. 4, No. 9.

208 **Richman, Irving B.** Rhode Island: a Study in Separatism. Boston and New York, 1905.

209 Royal Commissioners (The). See *Calendar of State Papers* (27), Nos. 711–724 and 1169–1174.

210 **Sanborn, Frank B.** New Hampshire — an Epitome of Popular Government. Boston, 1904.

211 **Sewall, Samuel E.** Diary, 1674–1729, in *Collections* of Massachusetts Historical Society (**197**), series 5, vols. 5, 6, 7. See also *Proceedings*, series 2, vol. 8, p. 212.

212 Some Correspondence between the Governors and Treasurers of the New England Company in London and the Commissioners of the United Colonies in America [etc.] between the Years 1657–1712. London, 1896.

213 **Toppan, Robert N., editor.** Records of the Andros Council, December 20, 1686 to April 25, 1687, in *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society (**184**), October, 1899.

214 **Tyler, Moses C.** Anne Bradstreet, in his *History of American Literature* (**42**), vol. 1, pp. 277–292.

215 **Weeden, William B.** The Economic and Social History of New England, 1620–1729 (Boston, 1890, 2 vols.), vol. 1, chaps. 7, 8, 9. A very valuable work.

216 **Whitmore, William H.** Sir Edmund Andros (the "Andros Tracts;" a Prince Society publication). Boston, 1868–74, 3 vols. A rich repository of material relating to the revolution of 1689. *The Memoir of Andros* is especially important.

217 **Willis, William.** The Purchase of Maine by Massachusetts, in *Collections* of the Maine Historical Society (**196**), vol. 1, pp. 239, 240.

218 **Winsor, Justin, editor.** Memorial History of Boston. Boston, 1880, 4 vols.

CHAPTER IX—THE FRENCH EXPLORATION OF THE WEST

Note.—See the note on page 412, and titles **84, 96, 109.**

219 **Bourinot, John G.** The Story of Canada (New York, 1896), chaps. 9, 12, 13.

220 **Bryce, George.** The Further History of Pierre Esprit Radisson, in *Proceedings* of Royal Society of Canada (**266**), new series, vol. 4(1898), sec. 2, p. 53.

221 **Bryce, George.** The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company (London, 1900), pp. 1–58.

222 **Burton, Clarence M.** Cadillac's Village, or Detroit under Cadillac. Detroit, 1896.

223 **Burton, Clarence M.** A Sketch of the Life of Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac. Detroit, 1895.

224 **Campbell, Henry C.** Exploration of Lake Superior: The Voyages of Radisson and Groseilliers. Milwaukee, 1896. This is No. 2 of the Parkman Club *Publications*. Also see Campbell's Radisson's Journal: Its Value in History, in *Proceedings* of Wisconsin Historical Society (**280**) for 1895, p. 88. Also his Radisson and Groseilliers, in *American Historical Review*, vol. 1(1896), p. 226.

225 **Catherwood, Mary.** Heroes of the Middle West: The French. Boston, 1898.

226 **Catherwood, Mary.** The Story of Tonty. Chicago, 1890.

227 **Charlevoix, Pierre F. X.** History and General Description of New France, translated from the French with notes by John G. Shea (New York, 1866–72, 6 vols.; reprinted, New York, 1900), vol. 2, p. 94 to end; vols. 3, 4; vol. 5, pp. 1–154. The original edition was published at Paris in 1744.

228 Collection de Mss. relatifs a la Nouvelle-France (Quebec, 1883–85, 4 vols.), vol. 1, p. 185.

229 **Cox, Isaac J., editor.** The Journeys of La Salle and His Companions, 1668–1687, as Related by Himself and His Followers. New York, 1905, 2 vols.

230 **Douglas, James.** Old France in the New World: Quebec in the Seventeenth Century. Cleveland, 1905.

231 **Duffield, George.** Recent Discovery of the Long-Lost Grave of Père Marquette, in Michigan Pioneer *Collections* (253), vol. 2(1887), p. 134.

232 **Farmer, Silas.** History of Detroit and Michigan (Detroit, 1884, revised 1890, 2 vols.), vol. 1, chaps. 1, 4.

233 **Fortier, Alcée.** History of Louisiana (New York, 1904, 4 vols.), vol. 1.

234 **French, Benjamin F.** Historical Collections of Louisiana. New York, 1846–53, series 1, 5 vols. The first volume relates almost exclusively to La Salle and Tonty.

235 **Garneau, François X.** History of Canada; translated and edited by Andrew Bell (Montreal, 1860, 1862; Toronto, 1876, 2 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 245–298. The original French edition is in four volumes. Montreal, 1845–52.

236 **Gravier, Gabriel.** Cavelier de La Salle de Rouen. Paris, 1871. Contains a La Salle bibliography.

237 **Hennepin, Louis.** Description of Louisiana. Translation from the French edition of 1683. New York, 1880.

238 **Hennepin, Louis.** A New Discovery. Reprint of the edition of 1698; edited by Reuben G. Thwaites. Chicago, 1903, 2 vols. Contains the best Hennepin bibliography by Victor H. Paltsits.

239 **Hinsdale, Burke A.** The Old Northwest (New York, 1888), pp. 25–46.

240 Jesuit Relations (Cleveland, 1896–1901, 73 vols.), vols. 10, 16, 33, 34, 38, 39, 40, passim, and vol. 59, p. 87 et seq.

241 **Jones, Arthur E.** The Identification of the Huron Village of St. Ignace, in *Archæological Report* for 1902, Province of Ontario (Toronto, 1903), p. 92.

242 **Jogues, Isaac.** Papers, in *Collections* of the New York Historical Society (95), series 2, vol. 3.

243 **Joutel, Henri.** Journal of La Salle's last Voyage. Edited by M. B. Anderson, Chicago, 1896. A Caxton Club publication.

244 **Kingsford, William.** History of Canada (Toronto, 1887–98, 10 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 147–486; vol. 2, pp. 108–164.

245 **Lahontan, Baron de.** New Voyages to North America. London, 1703. Reprinted and edited by Reuben G. Thwaites. Chicago, 1905. Contains best bibliography of Lahotan's works by Victor H. Paltsits.

246 **La Salle, Nicolas.** Relation of the Discovery of the Mississippi River. Translated by M. B. Anderson. Chicago, 1898.

247 **Laut, Agnes C.** The Pathfinders of the West (New York, 1904), pp. 3–192.

248 **Leclerq, Chrétien.** First Establishment of the Faith in New France. (Originally published in Paris, 1691.) Translation with notes by John G. Shea. New York, 1881, 2 vols.

249 **Legler, Henry E.** Chevalier Henry de Tonty. Milwaukee, 1896. Parkman Club *Publication*, No. 3.

250 **Margry, Pierre.** Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale (1614–1754). Paris, 1876–86, 6 vols. A very important collection of original memoirs and documents.

251 **Marquette, Père Jacques.** An account of the Discovery of some new Countries and Nations in North America in 1673, by Père Marquette and Sieur Joliet, in French's *Historical Collections* (**234**), series 1, vol. 2, p. 279. Also see Hart's *Contemporaries* (**16**), vol. 1, p. 136; *Old South Leaflets* (**13**), No. 46; and Thwaites's *Marquette* (**272**).

252 Marquette [Articles relative to]. See *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, vol. 4, pp. 371–395; Marquette's *Journal*, 1673, in *Collections* of Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society (**253**), vol. 23, p. 378; *Jacques Marquette*, by J. Brucker, in *Revue de Montreal*, vol. 3, pp. 808–819; vol. 4, pp. 49–63, 114–117; *Historical Records and Studies* of United States Historical Society, vol. 3(1904), pp. 380–439; *American Catholic Historical Researches*, vol. 12(1895), pp. 30–34, 161–175; vol. 14(1897), pp. 98–100; *Collections* of Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society (**253**), vol. 8(1886), pp. 368–392.

253 Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society (The) has published at Lansing 32 volumes of *Collections*. 1877–1903.

254 Minnesota Historical Society (The) has published at St. Paul 11 volumes of *Collections*. 1872–1905; also *Annals*, vol. 1 (five parts), 1850–56; reprinted, 1872.

255 **Monette, John W.** History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi (New York, 1846–48, 2 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 110–159.

256 **Moore, Charles.** The Northwest under Three Flags, 1635–1796 (New York and London, 1900), chap. 1.

257 **Morgan, Lewis H.** League of the Iroquois. Rochester, 1851; new edition by Herbert M. Lloyd (New York, 1901, 2 vols.), of which there is a cheaper reissue in one volume.

258 **Munro, W. Bennett.** The Office of Intendant in New France, in *American Historical Review*, vol. 12, pp. 15–38.

259 **Neill, Edward D.** Groseilliers and Radisson, in *Magazine of Western History*, vol. 7 (1888), p. 412. See other sketches by the same author in *Collections* of the Wisconsin Historical Society (280), series 1, vol. 9, p. 292, and in *Collections* of the Minnesota Historical Society (254), vol. 5, p. 401.

260 **Parkman, Francis.** Frontenac and New France. Boston, 1877–86.

261 **Parkman, Francis.** The Jesuits in North America (Boston, 1886), chaps. 5, 14, 15, 16, 20, 23–32. First published in 1867.

262 **Parkman, Francis.** La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West. Boston, 1879.

263 **Parkman, Francis.** The Old Régime in Canada (Boston, 1886), chaps. 10–16.

264 **Radisson, Pierre Esprit de.** Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson. Boston, 1885. One of the Prince Society *Publications*.

265 Radisson and Groseilliers in Wisconsin: Extracts from Radisson's *Journal* in *Collections* of the Wisconsin Historical Society (280), vol. 11, pp. 64–96.

266 Royal Society of Canada (The) has published at Ottawa *Proceedings and Transactions;* series 1, 12 vols., 1882–94; series 2, 11 vols., 1895–1905.

267 **Shea, John G.** History of the Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the United States, 1529–1854. New York, 1855.

268 **Shea, John G.** Jesuits, Recollects, and Indians, in Winsor's *America* (36), vol. 4, p. 263.

269 **Sparks, Jared.** Father Marquette, in Sparks's *Library of American Biography*, series 1, vol. 10.

270 **Sparks, Jared.** Robert Cavelier de La Salle, in Sparks's *Library of American Biography*, series 2, vol. 1.

271 **Sulte, Benjamin.** The Death of La Salle, in *Proceedings* of the Royal Society of Canada (266), series 2, vol. 4.

272 **Thwaites, Reuben G.** Father Marquette. New York, 1902.

273 **Thwaites, Reuben G.** France in America (New York, 1905), chap. 4.

274 **Thwaites, Reuben G., editor.** The French Régime in Wisconsin, 1634–1727; forms vol. 16 of *Collections* of Wisconsin Historical Society (280).

275 **Tonty, Henry.** An Account of M. de La Salle's Last Expedition and Discoveries in North America. London,

1698. Also see *Collections* of the New York Historical Society (**95**), vol. 2, and French's *Historical Collections* (**234**), vol. 1.

276 **Tonty, Henri de.** The Journeys of René Robert Cavelier Sieur de La Salle. Edited by Isaac J. Cox. New York, 1905, 2 vols.

277 **Tonty, Henri de.** Relation Concerning the Explorations of La Salle from 1678–1683. Edited by M. B. Anderson. Chicago, 1898. A Caxton Club publication.

278 **Williams, Meade C.** Early Mackinac. St. Louis [1897]; fourth edition, 1903.

279 **Winsor, Justin.** The Jesuit Relations and Other Mission Records, in Winsor's *America* (**36**), vol. 4, p. 295, a chronological bibliography; pp. 258, 377; seventeenth century maps of Canada and the great lakes.

280 Wisconsin, The State Historical Society of, has published *Bulletins of Information*, 30 numbers to 1906; *Reports and Collections*, vols. 1–7 (Madison, 1854–76), contain *Annual Reports*, 1–20; *Proceedings*, 20–53 (Madison, 1874–1906); *Reports and Collections*, vols. 1–17 (Madison, 1855–1906).

CHAPTER X — THE WARS OF THE ROYAL WILLIAM, ANNE, AND GEORGE

Note. — See the note on page 412, and titles **140, 239, 260, 273.** Also see bibliography for Chapter 27.

281 **Bourinot, John G.** Cape Breton and its Memorials in the French Régime, in *Proceedings* of Royal Society of Canada (**266**), vol. 9(1892), section 2, pp. 173–343. Also issued separately.

282 **Church, Benjamin.** History of the Eastern Expeditions of 1689, 1690, 1692, 1696, and 1704, against the Indians and French. Edited by Henry M. Dexter. Boston, 1867.

283 **Drake, Samuel A.** Border Wars of New England (New York, 1897), p. 115.

284 **Greene, Evarts B.** Provincial America. New York, 1905.

285 **Guizot, François P. G.** History of France. Translated by Robert Black (Boston, 1886, 8 vols.), vol. 4, chap. 44.

CHAPTERS XI AND XII — BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY

Note. — See the note on page 412, and titles **8, 12, 21, 40, 41, 45, 53, 54, 64, 72, 121, 175, 185, 215.**

286 American Historical Association — Historical Manuscripts Commission. The Colonial Assemblies and their Journals, in *Annual Report* for 1897, pp. 403–453.

287 **Anderson, James S. M.** History of the Church of England in the Colonies. Second edition. London, 1856, 3 vols.

288 **Andrews, Charles M.** American Colonial History, 1690–1750, in *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1898, p. 49.

289 **Ashley, William J.** Surveys, Historic and Economic (New York, 1900), pp. 309–360.

290 **Bagnall, William R.** Textile Industries of the United States, including Sketches and Notices of Cotton, Woolen, Silk, and Linen Manufacture in the Colonial Period. Boston, 1893, vol. 1(1639–1810). An important work.

291 **Beer, George L.** Commercial Policy of England toward the Colonies, in Columbia University *Studies*, vol. 3(1893), No. 2.

292 **Bishop, J. Leander.** History of American Manufactures, 1608–1860 (Philadelphia, 1867, 3 vols.), vol. 1, chap. 14.

293 **Burke, Edmund.** An Account of the European Settlements in America. London, 1758, 2 vols.

294 **Chalmers, George.** An Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the Colonies. Boston, 1845, 2 vols.

295 **Channing, Edward.** The Navigation Laws, in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society (184), new series, vol. 6.

296 **Collins, Edward D.** Studies in the Colonial Policy of England, 1672–1680, in *Annual Report* of American Historical Association for 1900, vol. 1, pp. 139–192.

297 **Douglass, William.** A Discourse concerning the Currencies of the British Plantations in America. Boston, 1740. Reprinted with introduction, etc., by C. J. Bullock, in *Economic Studies* of the American Economic Association, vol. 2, pp. 259–375.

298 **Egerton, Hugh E.** Origin and Growth of the English Colonies and their System of Government. Oxford, 1903.

299 **Fisher, Willard C.** American Trade Regulations before 1789, in *Papers* of American Historical Association, vol. 3(1889), pp. 467–493.

300 **Gibbins, Henry de B.** British Commerce and Colonies from Elizabeth to Victoria. London, 1893.

301 Great Britain. Statutes at Large. London, 1762–1866, 109 vols. Contain the English laws affecting the government of the colonies.

302 **Hazeltine, Harold D.** Appeals from the Colonial Courts to the King in Council, in *Annual Report* of American Historical Association for 1894, p. 299, et seq.

303 **Kaye, Percy L.** The Colonial Executive Prior to the Restoration (Baltimore, 1900), in Johns Hopkins University *Studies*, series 18.

304 **Keith, William.** History of the British Plantations in America . . . Part I. London, 1738. No more published. Also see Hart's *Contemporaries* (16), vol. 2, p. 138.

305 **Kellogg, Louise P.** The American Colonial Charter, in *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1903, vol. 1, pp. 187–341.

306 **Lecky, William E. H.** History of England in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1878–90, 8 vols.), vol. 4, chap. 12.

307 **MacDonald, William.** A Neglected Point of View in American Colonial History, in *Annual Report* of American Historical Association for 1902, vol. 1, pp. 169–178.

308 **Marvin, Winthrop L.** The American Merchant Marine, 1620–1902. New York, 1902.

309 **May, Thomas E.** Constitutional History of England (New York, 1895, 2 vols.), vol. 2, p. 512. First edition, London, 1861, 2 vols.

310 **Morris, Henry C.** History of Colonization from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. New York, 1900, 2 vols.

311 **Osgood, Herbert L.** England and the Colonies, in *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 2, p. 440 and vol. 17, pp. 206–222.

312 **Osgood, Herbert L.** The Study of American Colonial History, in *Annual Report* of American Historical Association for 1898, pp. 63–76.

313 **Pownall, Thomas.** Administration of the Colonies. London, 1765.

314 Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, edited by Nathaniel B. Shurtleff (Boston, 1853–54, 5 vols.), vol. 5, p. 337.

315 Rhode Island Colonial Records. Edited by John R. Bartlett (Providence, 1856–65, 10 vols.), vol. 3, p. 110.

316 Royal Colonial Institute. Proceedings, 1869–1906. London, 1870–1906, 37 vols.

317 Secretaries of State in England, etc., in *New York Colonial Documents* (**84**), vol. 3, introduction and p. 30; vol. 4, p. 147.

318 **Seeley, John R.** Growth of British Colonial Policy. Cambridge, 1895, 2 vols.

319 **Smith, Adam.** The Wealth of Nations (London, 1776, 2 vols.), book 4, chap. 7.

320 **Thwaites, Reuben G.** The Colonies (New York, 1900), pp. 264–284.

CHAPTER XIII — THE END OF PROPRIETARY RULE IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Note. — See the note on page 412, and titles **7, 12, 14, 19, 21, 24, 26, 28.**

321 **Archdale, John.** New Description of that Fertile and Pleasant Province of Carolina (London, 1707), reprinted at Charleston, 1822, and in Carroll's *Collections* (**7**), vol. 2.

322 **Board of Trade.** Carolina and Pirates ; abstracts of official documents, in Carroll's *Collections* (7), vol. 1, pp. 204, 205, et passim ; vol. 2, p. 236, et passim.

323 **Cross, Arthur L.** The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies. New York, 1902.

324 **Dalcho, Frederick D.** Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina. Charleston, 1820.

325 **Glenn, James.** Description of South Carolina. London, 1761; reprinted in Carroll's *Collections* (7), vol. 2.

326 **Hewatt, Alexander.** Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia. London, 1779, 2 vols. Reprinted in Carroll's *Collections* (7), vol. 1.

327 **Oldmixon, J.** British Empire in America. London, 1708. So much of the work as relates to Carolina is reprinted in Carroll's *Collections* (7), vol. 2, p. 391.

328 **Osgood, Herbert L.** Carolina as a Proprietary Province, in *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (23), vol. 2, pp. 225–231.

329 **Ramage, Burr J.** Local Government and Free Schools in South Carolina (Baltimore, 1883), in Johns Hopkins University *Studies*, series 1, No. 12.

330 **Rivers, William J.** Sketch of the History of South Carolina (Charleston, 1856), pp. 191–310, and appendix.

331 Yamassee War ; Journal of the March into the Mountains, in *Charleston Year Book* (9), pp. 313–352. Also see Carroll's *Collections* (7), vol. 2, p. 569.

332 **[Yonge, Francis.]** Narrative of the Proceedings of the People . . . in 1719, London, 1726. Reprinted in Force's *Tracts* (50), vol. 2, and in Carroll's *Collections* (7), vol. 2.

CHAPTER XIV—THE END OF PROPRIETARY RULE IN NORTH CAROLINA

Note. — See the note on page 412, and titles **12, 17, 19, 25, 26, 28.**

333 **Fiske, John.** Blackbeard and Bonnet, in *Old Virginia and her Neighbours* (14), vol. 2, pp. 361–369.

334 **Hendren, L. L.** De Graffenreid and the Swiss and Palatine Settlement of New Bern, N. C., in Trinity College *Historical Papers*, series 4 (Durham, N. C., 1900), pp. 64–71.

335 **Lawson, John.** New Voyage to Carolina. London, 1709. Reissued at London, as *History of Carolina*, in 1714 and 1718; the edition of 1714 was reprinted at Raleigh in 1860.

336 **Martin, François X.** History of North Carolina (New Orleans, 1829, 2 vols.), vol. 2.

337 North Carolina and Virginia Boundary Dispute, 1707–1711. Documents relating thereto are printed in the *Virginia Magazine*

of History and Biography (**56**), vol. 4, pp. 30–42; vol. 5, pp. 1–21; vol. 7, pp. 337–352; vol. 8, pp. 1–11.

338 **Raper, Charles L.** Social Life in Colonial North Carolina. Raleigh, 1903. Forms *North Carolina Booklet*, vol. 3, No. 5.

CHAPTER XV — PROPRIETARY RULE IN PENNSYLVANIA, DELAWARE, AND NEW JERSEY

Note. — See the note on page 412, and titles **86, 87, 91, 131, 136, 142, 152, 153, 154, 157.**

339 Delaware, The Historical Society of, has published (Wilmington, 1879–1907) 46 *Papers*, most of which are pamphlets.

340 **Hazard, Samuel, editor.** Register of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1828–36, 16 vols.), vol. 2, p. 71.

341 **Keith, Charles P.** The Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania (1733–1776). Philadelphia, 1883.

342 Penn and Logan Correspondence is printed in *Memoirs* of the Pennsylvania Historical Society (**147**), vols. 9, 10.

343 Penns (The) and the Taxation of their Estates by the Provincial Assembly, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (**147**), vol. 23, pp. 290–302, 420–443; vol. 24, pp. 165–177, 308–324, 479–494; vol. 25, pp. 80–99.

344 Pennsylvania Minutes of the Provincial Council from the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government (1683–1776). Philadelphia, 1851–52, 10 vols. Known briefly as "Pennsylvania Colonial Records" (**146**).

345 Pennsylvania. Papers relating to the Colonies on the Delaware, 1614–1682, in *Pennsylvania Archives* (**145**), series 2, vol. 5.

346 Pennsylvania. Papers Relating to Provincial Affairs, 1682–1750, in *Pennsylvania Archives* (**145**), series 2, vol. 7.

347 **Scharf, John T.** History of Delaware, 1609–1888. Philadelphia, 1888, 2 vols.

348 **Sharpless, Isaac.** Quakerism and Politics. Philadelphia, 1905.

CHAPTER XVI — ROYAL RULE IN MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA

Note. — See the note on page 412, and titles **12, 14, 42, 45, 58, 62, 71, 72, 74, 76.**

349 An Account of the Present State and Government of Virginia [1696–1698], in *Collections* of Massachusetts Historical Society (**197**), vol. 5, pp. 124–166.

350 **Browne, William H.** Royal Rule in Maryland, in his *Maryland* (**64**), chap. 11.

351 Calendar of Maryland State Archives, with report of committee of Maryland Historical Society (67). Baltimore, 1883. See also (62).

352 **Gambrall, Theodore C.** Church Life in Colonial Maryland. Baltimore, 1885.

353 **Palmer, William P.**, and **McRae, Sherwin.** Calendar of Virginia State Papers (Richmond, 1875—, 11 vols. +), vol. 1.

354 **Spotswood, Alexander.** His Official Letters as Lieutenant-governor of Virginia (Richmond, 1882–85, 2 vols.), vols. 1–2 of a new series of the *Collections* of the Virginia Historical Society (56).

CHAPTERS XVII AND XVIII — ROYAL RULE IN NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY

Note. — See the note on page 412, and titles 42, 81, 84, 86, 87, 90, 91, 92, 99, 100, 106, 108, 116, 260.

355 **Bowen, Littleton P.** Days of Makemie . . . 1680–1708. Philadelphia, 1885.

356 Calendar of Council Minutes, 1668–1783, in *Bulletin* No. 58 of the New York State Library. Albany, 1902.

357 **Champlin, John D., Jr.** The True Captain Kidd, in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 106(1902), p. 26.

358 **Dix, Morgan.** History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York (New York, 1898–1906, 4 vols.), vols. 1, 2.

359 **Dunlap, William.** History of the New Netherlands, Province of New York and State of New York (New York, 1839–1840, 2 vols.), vol. 1.

360 **Gordon, Thomas F.** History of New Jersey (Trenton, 1834), chaps. 4–6.

361 **Miller, John.** New York Considered and Improved, 1695. Edited by Victor H. Paltsits. Cleveland, 1903.

362 **Moore, George H.** Historical Notes on the Introduction of Printing into New York, 1693. New York, 1888.

363 **Nelson, William.** The Public Archives of New Jersey, in *Annual Report* of American Historical Association for 1903, vol. 1, pp. 479–541.

364 New Jersey. Journal and Votes of the house of Representatives of . . . New Jersey (November, 1703–January, 1709). Jersey City, 1872.

365 **Parkman, Francis.** Sir William Phips's Attack on Quebec, in *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 38(1876), p. 719.

366 **Raum, John O.** History of New Jersey (Philadelphia, 1877, 2 vols.), vol. 1, chaps. 5–10.

367 **Regents of the University of New York.** Report on the Boundaries of the State of New York. Albany, 1874–84, 2 vols.

368 **Singleton, Esther.** Social New York under the Georges. New York, 1902.

369 **Todd, Charles B.** Story of the City of New York (New York, 1888), chaps. 7–10.

370 **Todd, Charles B.** Benjamin Fletcher and the Rise of Piracy, in Wilson's *New York* (**108**), vol. 1, chap. 13.

371 **Todd, Charles B.** Robert Hunter and the Settlement of the Palatines, in Wilson's *New York* (**108**), vol. 2, chap. 4.

372 **Vermilye, Ashbel G.** The Earl of Bellomont and Suppression of Piracy, in Wilson's *New York* (**108**), vol. 2, chap. 1.

373 **Wolley, Charles.** A Two Years' Journal in New York [1678–1680]. Edited by Edward G. Bourne. Cleveland, 1902.

CHAPTER XIX — MASSACHUSETTS UNDER BRADSTREET AND PHIPS

Note. — See the note on page 412, and titles **12, 34, 168, 175, 191, 202, 204, 211, 218, 283.**

374 **Adams, Charles F.** Three Episodes of Massachusetts History (Boston, 1892, 2 vols.), vol. 2. Study of church and town government.

375 **Beard, George H.** The Psychology of the Salem Witchcraft Excitement of 1692. New York, 1882.

376 Boston Town Records, 1660–1701, in *Seventh Report* of Record Commissioners of Boston.

377 **Burr, George L.** The Literature of Witchcraft, in *Papers* of the American Historical Association for 1890, p. 235.

378 **Calef, Richard.** More Wonders of the Invisible World. London, 1700. Frequently reprinted. Also see *Library of American Literature*, vol. 2, p. 167.

379 Charter of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, 1691, in *Ancient Charters and Laws of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1814), pp. 18–37; *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1869–1906, 13 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 1–20; Poore's *Charters* (**10**), p. 942; *American History Leaflets* (**10**), No. 16, p. 20.

380 **Danforth, Thomas.** Danforth Papers, in *Collections* of Massachusetts Historical Society (**197**), series 2, vol. 8 (Boston, 1819), pp. 46–111.

381 **Dexter, Henry M.** The Mather Family and its Influence, in Winsor's *Boston* (**218**), vol. 2, chap. 9.

382 **Drake, Samuel G.** The History and Antiquities of Boston. Boston, 1856.

383 **Drake, Samuel G.** The Witchcraft Delusion in New England. Roxbury, Mass., 1866, 3 vols.

384 **Eggleston, Edward.** Transit of Civilization from England to America in the Seventeenth Century (New York, 1901), pp. 20–34.

385 **Ellis, George E.** The Royal Governors of Massachusetts, in Winsor's *Boston* (218), vol. 2, chap. 2. Has a fine heliotype reproduction of the provincial charter of 1691.

386 **Felt, Joseph B.** The Annals of Salem (second edition, Salem, 1845–49, 2 vols.), vol. 2, pp. 474–485.

387 **Gilman, Arthur.** The Story of Boston. New York, 1889.

388 **Haven, Samuel F.** The Mathers and the Witchcraft Delusion. Worcester, 1874. Reprinted from *Proceedings* of American Antiquarian Society (184), for April 29, 1874.

389 **Haynes, George H.** Representation and Suffrage in Massachusetts, 1620–1691, in Johns Hopkins University *Studies*, series 12, Nos. 8, 9.

390 **Hutchinson, Thomas.** The History of Massachusetts (London, 1764–67, 2 vols.), vol. 2(1691–1750). These are the dates of the first editions; a third volume (1749–1774) was issued posthumously in 1828.

391 **Lodge, Henry C.** Boston (New York, 1891), pp. 69, 104.

392 **Love, W. De Loss, Jr.** Fast and Thanksgiving Days of New England. Boston, 1895.

393 **McKenzie, Alexander.** Religious History of the Provincial Period, in Winsor's *Boston* (218), vol. 2, pp. 186–248.

394 **Marvin, Abijah P.** Cotton Mather and His Times. Boston, 1894.

395 **Mather, Cotton.** The Wonders of the Invisible World. Boston and London, 1693. Several times reprinted; also in *Library of American Literature*, vol. 2, p. 114.

396 **Mather, Increase.** A Further Account of the Tryals of the New-England Witches. London, 1693. Reprinted, London, 1862, with *Wonders of the Invisible World* (395).

397 **Moore, George H.** Final Notes on Witchcraft in Massachusetts. New York, 1885.

398 **Moore, George H.** Notes on the History of Witchcraft in Massachusetts, in the new series of *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society (184), vol. 2, pp. 162–192; also issued separately; and *Bibliographical Notes* on the same subject in vol. 5, pp. 245–273; also issued separately.

399 **Neal, Daniel.** History of New England. London, 1720 and 1747, 2 vols.

400 **Nevins, Winfield S.** Stories of Salem Witchcraft, in *New England Magazine*, new series, vol. 5, pp. 517–533, 664–680. 717–729; vol. 6, pp. 36–48, 217–230.

401 **Nevins, Winfield S.** Witchcraft in Salem Village in 1692. Salem and Boston, 1892.

402 **Poole, William F.** Cotton Mather and Salem Witchcraft, in *North American Review*, vol. 108(1869), pp. 337–397; reprinted separately, Boston, 1869.

403 **Poole, William F.** Witchcraft in Boston, in Winsor's *Boston* (218), vol. 2, chap. 4.

404 **Reed, Charles A.** The Province of Massachusetts Bay in the Seventeenth Century, in *Collections* of Old Colony Historical Society, No. 2 (Taunton, 1880), pp. 5–36.

405 **Smith, Charles C.** French Protestants in Boston, in Winsor's *Boston* (218), vol. 2, p. 249.

406 **Upham, Charles W.** Salem Witchcraft. Boston, 1867, 2 vols.

407 **Ward, Edward.** Description of Boston and its Inhabitants in 1699, in Nathaniel B. Shurtleff's *Topographical and Historical Description of Boston* (Boston, 1891), p. 53.

408 **Wendell, Barrett.** Cotton Mather. New York [1891].

409 **Winsor, Justin.** New England, in Winsor's *America* (36), vol. 5, pp. 87–95.

410 **Winsor, Justin.** The Literature of Witchcraft in New England, in *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society (184) for 1895, series 2, vol. 10, p. 351.

411 **[Woodward, W. Eliot, editor.]** Records of Salem Witchcraft, copied from the Original Documents. Roxbury, Mass., 1864, 2 vols. Forms Woodward's *Historical Series*, Nos. 1, 2.

CHAPTER XX — MASSACHUSETTS UNDER STOUGHTON, BELLOMONT, AND DUDLEY

Note. — See the note on page 412, and titles **175, 202, 215, 283, 323, 392, 393, 394, 405, 408.**

412 **Baird, Charles W.** History of the Huguenot Emigration to America (New York, 1885, 2 vols.), passim.

413 **Davis, Andrew McF.** Currency and Banking in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay (New York, 1900), in the *Publications* of the American Economic Association, series 3, vol. 1, No. 4, chaps. 1–3, and vol. 2, No. 2.

414 **Felt, Joseph B.** Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency. Boston, 1839.

415 **Freeman, Frederick.** History of Cape Cod [Mass.]. Boston, 1860–62, 2 vols.

416 **Goddard, Delano A.** The Press and Literature of the Provincial Period, in Winsor's *Boston* (218), vol. 2, chap. 15.

417 **Penhallow, Samuel.** History of the Wars of New England with the Eastern Indians, 1703–1713 and 1722–1725.

Boston, 1726. Reprinted at Cincinnati in 1859 and in *Collections* of the New Hampshire Historical Society (201), vol. 1.

418 **Quincy, Josiah.** History of Harvard University. Cambridge, 1840 and 1860, 2 vols.

419 **Scudder, Horace E.** Life in Boston in the Provincial Period, in Winsor's *Boston* (218), vol. 2, chap. 16.

420 **Sewall Samuel.** The Selling of Joseph. Boston, 1700; reprinted as part of Benjamin Lay's *All Slave-Keepers that keep the Innocent in Bondage* (Philadelphia, 1737), pp. 199–207; in *Historical Magazine*, vol. 8(1864), pp. 194–197; in George H. Moore's *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts* (New York, 1866), pp. 83–87; in *Proceedings* of Massachusetts Historical Society (197) for 1863–64, pp. 161–165, from the supposedly unique original edition in that society's library; and in the *Library of American Literature*, vol. 2, p. 189.

421 **Washburn, Emory.** Sketches of Judicial History of Massachusetts, 1630–1775 (Boston, 1840), pp. 151–202.

CHAPTER XXI — RHODE ISLAND AND CONNECTICUT

Note. — See the note on page 412, and titles **175, 185, 192, 208, 302, 315, 409, 413.**

422 **Bartlett, John R.** Bibliography of Rhode Island. Providence, 1864.

423 **Bolles, John R.,** and **Williams, Anna B.** The Rogerenes. Some hitherto unpublished Annals. Boston [1904].

424 **Bowen, Clarence W.** The Boundary Disputes of Connecticut. Boston, 1882.

425 **Buckeley, Gershom.** Will and Doom, or the Miseries of Connecticut by and under an usurped and arbitrary Power. Written 1692. In *Collections* of Connecticut Historical Society (189), vol. 3(1895), pp. 69–269.

426 Colonial Records of Connecticut, edited by James H. Trumbull and Charles J. Hoadly. Hartford, 1850–90, 15 vols.

427 **Flagg, Charles A.** Reference List of Connecticut Local History. Albany, 1900. Forms New York State Library *Bulletin* 53 (Bibliography 23).

428 **Greene, M. Louise.** The Development of Religious Liberty in Connecticut. Boston, 1905.

429 **Johnston, Alexander.** Connecticut (Boston and New York, 1887), chap. 13. New edition, 1903.

430 **Morgan, Forrest.** Connecticut as a Colony and as a State (Hartford, 1904, 4 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 279–289.

431 Providence, Early Records of the Town of. Providence, 1892–1904, 18 vols.

432 **Steiner, Bernard C.** History of Education in Connecticut (Washington, 1893. United States Bureau of Education, *Circular of Information*, No. 193), chaps. 2, 5.

433 **Trumbull, Benjamin.** History of Connecticut (New Haven, 1818, 2 vols.), vol. 1, chaps. 16–19. Reprinted, New London, 1898, 2 vols.

CHAPTER XXII — CANADA AND LOUISIANA

CANADA

Note.— See the note on page 412, and titles **84, 219, 227, 235, 240, 244, 256, 260, 263, 273.**

434 **Akins, Thomas B., editor.** Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia. Halifax, 1869.

435 Canada. Collection de Manuscrits, contenant Lettres, Memoires, et autres Documents historiques relatifs à la Nouvelle France. Quebec, 1883–85, 4 vols.

436 Canada. Complement des Ordonnances et Jugements des Gouverneurs et Intendants du Canada (1540–1751). Quebec, 1856.

437 Canada. Reports on the Canadian Archives, 1872–1874, 1881–1905. Ottawa, 1872–1906, 24 vols. The reports before 1881 were not issued separately, but are appended to the reports of the Minister of Agriculture.

438 Canada. Sovereign Council. Jugements et Deliberations (1663–1716). Quebec, 1885–91, 6 vols.

439 **Fernow, Berthold.** The Ohio Valley in Colonial Days (Albany, 1890), pp. 62–74, 84–86.

440 **Hannay, James.** History of Acadia. St. John, 1879.

441 **Lorin, Henri.** Le Comte de Frontenac. Paris, 1895.

442 Louisburg, The Siege of. See Bibliography for chapter 27, following.

443 **Murdoch, Beamish.** History of Nova Scotia or Acadie. Halifax, 1865–67, 3 vols.

444 **Myrand, Ernest.** Sir William Phips devant Québec. Quebec, 1893.

445 **Rameau de Saint-Père, Edme.** Une Colonie féodale en l'Amérique, l'Acadie, 1604–1881. Paris, 1889, 2 vols.

446 **Rochemonteix, Camille de.** Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII^e Siècle. Paris, 1895–96, 3 vols.

447 **Rochemonteix, Camille de.** Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIII^e Siècle. Paris, 1906, 2 vols.

448 **Smith, Charles C.** The Wars on the Seaboard: The Struggle in Acadia and Cape Breton, in Winsor's *America* (36), vol. 5, pp. 407–418.

449 **Sulte, Benjamin.** Histoire des Canadiens-Français, 1608–1880. Montreal, 1882–84, 8 vols.

450 **Winsor, Justin.** The Mississippi Basin (Boston and New York, 1898), passim.

LOUISIANA

Note. — See the note on page 412, and titles **15, 233, 234, 450.**

451 **Charlevoix, Father Pierre F. X. de.** His Historical Journal, in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana* (**234**), series 1, vol. 3, p. 119.

452 **Dimitry, John.** Charlevoix in New Orleans, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 10(1883), p. 140.

453 **Gayarré, Charles.** History of Louisiana (New Orleans, 1885 and 1903, 4 vols.), vols. 1 and 2 — French Domination. Also earlier editions of the French period, 1851–52, 1854, 1867.

454 **Hamilton, Peter J.** Colonial Mobile. Boston, 1897.

455 Journal Historique de l'Établissement des Français à la Louisiane. Nouvelle-Orleans, 1831. Usually called Bénard de la Harpe's *Journal*. For a translation, see French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana* (**234**), vol. 3. See important notice in *Publications* of Louisiana Historical Society (**459**), vol. 1, part 2 (1895), pp. 46–47.

456 **King, Grace.** John Baptiste le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville. New York, 1892.

457 **King, Grace.** New Orleans: the Place and the People. New York and London, 1895.

458 **King, Grace,** and **Ficklen, John R.** History of Louisiana. Revised edition. New Orleans, 1902.

459 Louisiana Historical Society, Publications of. New Orleans, 1895–1906, 3 vols.

460 **Lyon, Anne Bozeman.** Early Missions of the South (Florida, Alabama, Louisiana), in *Gulf States Historical Magazine*, vol. 2(1903–04), pp. 186–193, 242–254, 390–401.

461 **Margry, Pierre.** Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale (1614–1754). Paris, 1876–86, 6 vols. Contains numerous memoirs and documents relating to Louisiana and New France bearing on the period of this chapter.

462 **Martin, François X.** History of Louisiana, from the earliest Period. New Orleans, 1827–29, 2 vols.; new edition with continuation by John F. Condon. New Orleans, 1882.

463 Mississippi Historical Society (The) has issued 8 volumes of *Publications* edited by Franklin L. Riley. Oxford, Miss., 1898–1904.

464 **Monette, John W.** History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi. New York, 1846, 2 vols.

465 **Thompson, Maurice.** The Story of Louisiana. Boston, 1889.

CHAPTER XXIII—FLORIDA

466 **Blackmar, Frank W.** Spanish Institutions of the Southwest (Baltimore, 1891), in Johns Hopkins University *Studies*, extra vol. 10, p. 6.

467 **Drake, Samuel A.** Florida: its History, Condition and Resources. Boston, 1878.

468 **Fairbanks, George R.** Florida: its History and its Romance. Jacksonville, 1898; second edition, revised, 1901.

469 **Fairbanks, George R.** The History and Antiquities of the City of St. Augustine . . . Comprising some of the most interesting Portions of the early History of Florida. New York, 1858.

470 **Reynolds, Charles R.** Old Saint Augustine. A Story of Three Centuries. St. Augustine, 1885.

CHAPTER XXIV—GEORGIA AND THE CAROLINAS

GEORGIA

Note. — Although Georgia, the youngest of the "Thirteen Originals," was almost the first to take action for the completion of her colonial records and was the first to spend any considerable amount of money for that purpose, her possessions of such material at the beginning of the present century were very limited. In 1837, she sent an agent to England to make a copy of all records relating to her colonial history. The manuscripts thus obtained (22 volumes) were deposited in the archives rooms of the capitol in charge of the secretary of state, where they remained until about 1848, when they were removed to the library of the Georgia Historical Society at Savannah. Other records were found at London and six additional volumes were copied at the expense of the society which was subsequently reimbursed by the state. About 1883, the records were loaned to Colonel Charles C. Jones. When he had completed his history of Georgia, the twenty-eight manuscript volumes were placed in the archives rooms of the old capitol at Atlanta. Later, the legislature authorized a loan of the volumes to Professor A. W. Scomp of Emory College, Oxford, Georgia. It is said that Professor Scomp hunted for the manuscripts several months in vain and that they were finally found in the attic as a constituent of a pile of waste waiting to be sent to the crematory! The demoralization caused by the war between the states and the confusion consequent upon the removal of the capital from Milledgeville to Atlanta may account for the indifference manifested by the custodians of these historical treasures. In 1891, Professor Scomp's house was burned and with it all but three volumes of the transcripts of the colonial records of Georgia. These three volumes had not been taken from the capitol. About

1900, the Georgia Daughters of the American Revolution began an effort that resulted in legislative authority for the compilation and publication of the records in question. The first few volumes of the printed *Colonial Records of Georgia* have already appeared as noted in one of the titles below.

471 **Bruce, Henry.** Life of General James Oglethorpe and the Founding of the Georgia Colony. New York, 1890.

472 **Candler, Allen D., editor.** The Colonial Records of Georgia. Atlanta, 1904, and in progress. Vols. 1–4, 6, 7 have appeared up to January, 1907. The first two volumes cover the period 1732–52.

473 **Doyle, John A.** The Colonization of Georgia, in *English Colonies in America* (12), vol. 5, chap. 8.

474 **Fries, Adelaide L.** The Moravians in Georgia, 1735–1740. Raleigh, N. C. [1905].

475 Georgia Historical Society (The) has published 6 volumes of *Collections* (Savannah, 1840, 1842, 1873, 1878, 1901, 1904), and several other works.

476 **Greene, Evarts B.** The Founding of Georgia, in *Provincial America* (New York, 1905), chap. 15.

477 **Hamilton, Peter J.** Georgia, the Buffer Colony, in *The Colonization of the South* (15), chap. 16.

478 **Jones, Charles C., Jr.** The English Colonization of Georgia, in Winsor's *America* (36), vol. 5, chap. 6.

479 **Jones, Charles C., Jr.** Historical Sketch of Tomo-Chi-Chi. Albany, 1868.

480 **Jones, Charles C., Jr.** History of Georgia (Boston, 1883, 2 vols.), vol. 1.

481 **McCrady, Edward.** The South Carolina Side of the Story of Oglethorpe's Invasion of Florida in 1740, in *South Carolina under Royal Government* (489), pp. 190–229.

482 **Peabody, William B. O.** James Oglethorpe, in Sparks's *Library of American Biography* (Boston, 1844), series 2, vol. 2.

483 **Perceval of Canturk, (Viscount) John, Earl of Egmont.** A Journal of the Transactions of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia. Wormsloe, 1886. A large volume of great value, of which only forty-nine copies were privately printed, one of them being in the New York Public Library (Lenox Building).

484 **Phillips, Ulrich B.** The Public Archives of Georgia, in *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1903, vol. 1, pp. 439–474.

485 **Scomp, H. A.** Georgia, the Only Free Colony, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 22(1889), p. 280. An interesting account (in something of detail) of the influences that secured the repeal of the prohibition of negro slavery in Georgia.

486 **Snell, F. J.** Wesley and Methodism. New York, 1900.
487 **Stevens, William B.** History of Georgia. New York and Philadelphia, 1847–59, 2 vols.
488 **White, George.** Historical Collections of Georgia. New York, 1854; third edition, New York, 1855.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Note. — See the note on page 412, and titles **9, 26, 30.**

489 **McCrady, Edward.** South Carolina under Royal Government (New York, 1901), chaps. 1–17.
490 **Smith, W. Roy.** South Carolina as a Royal Province. New York, 1903.

NORTH CAROLINA

Note. — See the note on page 412, and titles **13, 25, 26.** Especial attention is called to the *Colonial Records of North Carolina* (**28**), vol. 3, pp. iii–xxii, 380, 383, 434, 435, 445, 576, 583, 611, 625, 643; and vol. 4, pp. iv, v, viii, xv.

491 **Hayes, C. Willard.** The Southern Appalachians, in *Physiographic Regions of the United States*. New York, 1895.
492 **Henry, William W.** The Scotch-Irish of the South, in *Proceedings of Scotch-Irish Congress*, at Columbia, Tenn. (Cincinnati, 1889), p. 123.

CHAPTER XXV — VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND

VIRGINIA

Note. — See the note on page 412, and titles **14, 28** (vol. 1, pp. xxii–xxiv, 735), **40, 41, 43, 45, 130, 239, 256, 287, 354, 450, 492.**

493 **Brock, Robert A.** The Vestry Book of Henrico Parish, Virginia (1730–1773), in J. S. Moore's *Annals of Henrico Parish*. Richmond [1904].
494 **Chandler, Julian A. C.** The History of Suffrage in Virginia (Baltimore, 1901), in Johns Hopkins University *Studies*, series 19, chap. 1.
495 Controversy (The) between Lieutenant-Governor Spotswood and His Council and the House of Burgesses. Edited by Worthington C. Ford. Brooklyn, 1891. "Winnowings of American History," in *Virginia Tracts*, No. 2.
496 **Cooke, J. Esten.** Stories of the Old Dominion. New York, 1879.
497 Early Westward Movement of Virginia, 1722–1734, edited by Charles E. Kemper, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (**56**), vol. 13 (1905–06), pp. 1, 113, 281, 351.
498 **Fontaine, John.** Journal of Travels in Virginia, New York, etc., 1715–1716, in Maury's *Huguenot Family* (**512**). Prob-

ably the best "source" of information concerning Spotswood's "Tramontane Expedition."

499 **Foote, William H.** Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical. Philadelphia, 1850, 1855, 2 vols.

500 **Goodwin, Maud W.** The Colonial Cavalier or Southern Life before the Revolution. New York, 1894; Boston, 1895.

501 **Hartwell, Henry, and others.** The Present State of Virginia, and the College [of William and Mary]. London, 1727.

502 **Hawks, Francis L.** Narrative of Events connected with the Rise and Progress of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia. New York, 1836.

503 **Hinke, William J.** The first German Reform Colony in Virginia (1714–1750), in *Journal* of Presbyterian Historical Society, vol. 2(Philadelphia, 1903), pp. 1–17, 98–110, 140–150.

504 **Hinke, William J.,** and **Kemper, Charles E.** Moravian Diaries and Travels through Virginia [1743–44, 1747–49, 1753], in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 11, pp. 113–131, 224–242, 370–393; vol. 12, pp. 55–82, 134–153, 271–284 (Richmond, 1903–05).

505 **Ingle, Edward.** Colonial County Government in Virginia, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 12(1884), pp. 532–549.

506 **Ingle, Edward.** Governor Spotswood's Horseshoe Campaign, 1716, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 17(1887), p. 295.

507 **Kemper, Charles E.** The Early Westward Movement of Virginia, 1722–1734, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 12, pp. 337–352; vol. 13, pp. 1–16, 113–138, 281–297, 351–373 (Richmond, 1905–06).

508 **Kennedy, John P., editor.** Calendar of Virginia Transcripts. Richmond, 1905.

509 **Kercheval, Samuel.** A History of the Valley of Virginia. Winchester, 1833, and Woodstock, 1850.

510 **Lewis, Virgil A.** History of West Virginia (Philadelphia, 1889), chaps. 4–6.

511 Lower Norfolk County, Virginia, Antiquary. Baltimore and Richmond, 1895–1905, vols. 1–5, No. 2. Discontinued.

512 **Maury, Ann.** Memoirs of a Huguenot Family (New York, 1872), pp. 281–292. This book contains Fontaine's *Journal* of the "horseshoe expedition" (498).

513 **Meade, William.** Old Churches and Families of Virginia. Philadelphia, 1857, 2 vols.; other editions, 1861, 1872, 1878, 1894, each 2 vols.

514 **Perry, William S., editor.** Papers relating to the History of the Church in Virginia, 1656–1776. [Hartford], 1870.

515 **Porter, Luther H.** Popular Government in Virginia, 1606–1776, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 19(1888), p. 490.

516 **Schuricht, Hermann.** History of the German Element in Virginia. Baltimore, 1898–1900, 2 vols.

517 **Sioussat, St. George L.** Virginia and the English Commercial System, 1730–1733, in *Annual* Report of American Historical Association for 1905, p. 71.

518 **Summers, Lewis P.** History of Southwest Virginia, 1746–1786. Richmond, 1903.

519 **Trott, Nicholas, editor.** Laws of the British Colonies relating to the Church and the Clergy. London, 1725. Virginia items appear on pp. 105–161.

520 **Tyler, Moses C.** William Byrd of Westover, in *History of American Literature* (**42**), vol. 2, pp. 270–279.

521 Virginia. Acts of Assembly. Vol. 1(1662–1715). London, 1727. No more published. *A Collection of Acts in Force* in 1733 (Williamsburg, 1733); and *Abridgments* (Williamsburg, 1737 and 1739) were also printed. These, and the *Session Laws* which continue them, are of great importance.

522 Virginia. Journals of the Council of Virginia in Executive Sessions, 1737–1763, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 14(Richmond, 1906), pp. 1–35.

523 Virginia Historical Register. Edited by William Maxwell. Richmond, 1848–53, 6 vols.

524 **Walton, Joseph S.** Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1900), chap. 7, pp. 194, 223.

525 William and Mary College. History (1693–1870). Baltimore, 1870; also Richmond, 1874.

MARYLAND

Note.—See the note on page 412, and titles **14, 64, 70, 71, 72, 130, 287.**

526 **Archer, G. W.** The Dismemberment of Maryland. Baltimore, 1890; Maryland Historical Society (**67**), *Fund Publication*, No. 30.

527 Calvert Papers. Baltimore, 1889, 1894, 2 vols.; Maryland Historical Society (**67**), *Fund Publications*, Nos. 28, 34, vol. 2, passim.

528 **Gambrall, Theodore C.** Church Life in Colonial Maryland. Baltimore, 1885.

529 **Hawks, Francis L.** Narrative of Events connected with the Rise and Progress of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland. New York, 1839.

530 **Latimer, Mary E. W.** Colonial Life in Maryland, 1725–75, in *International Review*, vol. 8(1880), pp. 569–581.

531 **Ridgely, David.** Annals of Annapolis (1649–1812). Baltimore, 1841.

532 **Scharf, John T.** The Chronicles of Baltimore. Baltimore, 1874.

533 **Sharpe, Horatio.** Correspondence (Baltimore, 1888–95, 3 vols.), vol. 1, passim. In *Maryland Archives* (62).

534 **Sioussat, St. George L.** Economics and Politics in Maryland, 1720–1750 (Baltimore, 1903), in Johns Hopkins University *Studies*, series 21, Nos. 6, 7.

535 **Sioussat, St. George L.** The English Statutes in Maryland [1722–1732], (Baltimore, 1903), in Johns Hopkins University *Studies*, series 21, Nos. 11, 12.

536 **Steiner, Bernard C., editor.** Reverend Thomas Bray, his Life and Selected Works relating to Maryland. Maryland Historical Society (67) *Fund Publication*, No. 37.

CHAPTER XXVI—THE MIDDLE COLONIES

PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE

Note.—See the note on page 412, and titles **42, 86, 87, 123, 131, 135, 141, 145, 146, 149, 151, 153, 154, 158, 256, 320, 340, 347, 450, 492, 524.**

537 **Allen, Francis O.** The Provincial or Colonial Flag of Pennsylvania, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (147), vol. 18(1894), p. 249.

538 **Armor, William C.** Lives of the Governors of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1872), pp. 129–155.

539 **Buck, William J.** History of the Indian Walk [i.e., the Walking Purchase]. Philadelphia, 1886.

540 **Colden, Cadwallader.** The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada (London, 1755, 2 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 1–116.

541 **Cornell, William M.** The History of Pennsylvania (New York, 1879), chap. 9.

542 **Diffenderfer, Frank R.** The German Immigration into Pennsylvania (1700–1775). Lancaster, 1900; also in *Proceedings* of Pennsylvania-German Society, vol. 10(Lancaster, 1900).

543 **Fisher, Sydney G.** The True Benjamin Franklin (Philadelphia, 1899), passim.

544 **Ford, Paul L.** The Many Sided Franklin (New York, 1899), passim.

545 **Ford, Paul L.** History of a Newspaper, the Pennsylvania Gazette, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 15(1886), p. 452.

546 **Franklin, Benjamin.** Autobiography, in his *Complete Works*, edited by John Bigelow (New York and London, 1887–88, 10 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 1–301.

547 **Franklin, Benjamin.** A Modest Inquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency (1729), in his *Works* (546), vol. 1, p. 359.

548 **Geiser, Karl F.** Redemptioners and Indentured Servants in the Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. New Haven, 1901.

549 **Green, Samuel S.** The Scotch-Irish in America. Worcester, 1895.

550 **Greene, Evarts B.** Immigration and Expansion, in *Provincial America* (284), chap. 14.

551 **Hanna, Charles A.** The Scotch-Irish or Scot in North Britain, North Ireland and North America. New York, 1902, 2 vols.

552 **Keith, Charles P.** Sir William Keith, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (147), vol. 12(1888), pp. 1–33.

553 **Kephart, Horace.** Pennsylvania's Part in the Winning of the West. St. Louis, 1902.

554 **Macfarlane, Charles W.** Pennsylvania Paper Currency, in *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. 8 (Philadelphia, 1896), pp. 50–126.

555 **Mellick, Andrew D., Jr.** German Emigration to the American Colonies, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (147), vol. 10(1886), pp. 241, 375.

556 **Morse, John T., Jr.** Benjamin Franklin. Boston, 1889.

557 **Parton, James.** Life and times of Benjamin Franklin (Boston, 1867, 2 vols.), vol. 1, passim.

558 **Repplier, Agnes.** Philadelphia (New York, 1898), pp. 65–141.

559 **Scheffer, J. G. De Hoop.** Mennonite Emigration to Pennsylvania, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (147), vol. 2(1878), p. 117.

560 **Sparks, Jared.** Life of Benjamin Franklin. Boston, 1882. First printed in his edition of Franklin's *Works*, vol. 1 (Boston, 1840), and often printed since.

561 **Stillé, Charles J.** The Attitude of the Quakers in the Provincial Wars, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (147), vol. 10(1886), pp. 283–315.

562 **Wharton, Thomas I.** Notes on the Provincial Literature of Pennsylvania, in *Memoirs* of Historical Society of Pennsylvania (147), vol. 1(1826), part 1, p. 100.

new york and new jersey

Note.—See the note on page 412, and titles **84, 86, 87, 91, 96, 103, 106, 151, 154, 369.**

563 **Chandler, Peleg W.** The Trial of John Peter Zenger, in his *American Criminal Trials* (Boston, 1841–44, 2 vols.), vol. 1, p. 161.

564 **Chandler, Peleg W.** The New York Negro Plot, in his *Criminal Trials* (563), vol. 1, p. 211.

565 **Gitterman, John.** [Admiral] George Clinton and his Contest with the Assembly, in Wilson's *New York* (108), vol. 2, chap. 8.

566 **Howell, Thomas B.** The Trial of John Peter Zenger, in *State Trials* (London, 1816, 21 vols.), vol. 17, pp. 675–764.

567 **Hudson, Frederic.** Zenger's Journal and Trial, in *Journalism in the United States* (New York, 1873), pp. 81–91.

568 **Lawrence, Eugene.** William Cosby and the Freedom of the Press, in Wilson's *New York* (108), vol. 2, chap. 7.

569 **Morris, Lewis.** Papers as Governor of New Jersey, 1738–1746, in *Collections* of the New Jersey Historical Society (120), vol. 4.

570 **Rutherfurd, Livingston.** John Peter Zenger. New York, 1904.

571 **Stone, William L., Jr.** Life and Times of Sir William Johnson. Albany, 1865, 2 vols.

CHAPTER XXVII — NEW ENGLAND

Note.— See the note on page 412, and titles **175, 185, 192, 202, 215, 281, 297, 315, 385, 392, 413, 426, 428, 429, 433, 448, 551.**

572 **Ames, Ellis.** Admiral Vernon's Expedition, in *Proceedings* of Massachusetts Historical Society (197), vol. 18(1881), p. 364.

573 **Archibald, Sir Adams.** First Siege and Capture of Louisbourg, in *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada (266), series 1, vol. 5(1888), sec. 2, pp. 41–53.

574 **Bidwell, Adonijah.** Journal of the [Connecticut] Expedition to Cape Breton, 1745, in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. 27(1873), p. 153.

575 **Bradstreet, Lieut. Dudley.** Diary during the Siege of Louisburg (April, 1745–January, 1746). Edited by Samuel A. Green. Cambridge, 1897.

576 **Brooks, Noah.** Sir William Pepperell. New York, 1903.

577 **Chapman, Thomas J.** Early Connecticut Claims in Pennsylvania, in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 12, p. 234.

578 Correspondence of the Colonial Governors of Rhode Island, 1723–1755, edited by Gertrude Selwyn Kimball. Boston and New York, 1902–03, 2 vols.

579 **Doyle, John A.** The Conquest of Canada, in *English Colonies in America* (12), vol. 5, pp. 406–418.

580 **Drake, Samuel A.** The Taking of Louisburg, 1745. Boston, 1891.

581 **Duniway, Clyde A.** The Development of Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts. New York, 1906.

582 **Fisher, Sydney G.** Men, Women, and Manners in Colonial Times. Philadelphia and London, 1900, 2 vols.

583 **Greene, Welcome A.** Rhode Island Colonial Paper Currency, in the *Narragansett Historical Register*, vol. 4(1885), p. 6.

584 **Kidder, Frederick.** Expeditions of Capt. John Lovewell and his Encounter with the Indians. Boston, 1865. Also see *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. 7, p. 61.

585 **Lawrence, William.** Roger Wolcott. Boston, 1902.

586 Louisbourg in 1745; the anonymous Lettre d'un Habitant . . . Edited by George M. Wrong, in *Studies* (History) of University of Toronto, series 2, vol. 1(Toronto, 1897), pp. 1–74; also issued separately.

587 Mather Papers, The, in *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society (**197**), series 4, vol. 8.

588 **Parkman, Francis.** Lovewell's Fight, in *A Half-Century of Conflict* (Boston, 1893, 2 vols.), vol. 1, chap. 11.

589 **Parkman, Francis.** Sebastian Rale, in *A Half-Century of Conflict* (588), chap. 10.

590 **Parsons, Usher.** Sir William Pepperell. Boston, 1855.

591 Pepperrell Papers, The, and the Belknap Papers, and the Louisburg Papers, manuscripts now in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society (**197**), are important "sources" of the history of New England in this period. The Pepperrell papers are printed in *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, series 6, vol. 10(1899).

592 **Peters, Samuel.** General History of Connecticut. London, 1781. Reprinted at New York, 1877. This work set afloat the myths concerning the "Blue Laws."

593 **Peterson, Edward.** History of Rhode Island (New York, 1853), pp. 61–151.

594 **Sanford, Elias B.** A History of Connecticut (Hartford, 1889), pp. 115–156.

595 **Sprague, J. F.** Sebastian Ralé; a Maine Tragedy. Boston, 1906.

596 **Staples, William R.** Annals of the Town of Providence, in *Collections* of Rhode Island Historical Society (**177**), vol. 5.

597 **Stevens, John A.** The First American Baronet [Pepperrell], in *Magazine of American History*, vol. 2(1878), p. 673.

598 **Talcott, Joseph.** Correspondence and Documents, in *Collections* of the Connecticut Historical Society (**189**), vols. 4, 5.

599 **Trumbull, James H.** The first Essays at Banking and the first Paper-Money in New England. Worcester, Mass., 1884, 44 pages.

600 **Ward, Richard.** Report on Paper Money, in *Rhode Island Colonial Records* (**315**), vol. 5, pp. 8–14.

601 **Wolcott, Roger.** Journal at the Siege of Louisbourg, in *Collections* of the Connecticut Historical Society (**189**), vol. 1.

For the general index to this work
see the last volume

HORN LIBRARY, BABSON COLLEGE
3 2120 00357 4140

DATE DUE

Demco, Inc. 38-293

HORN LIBRARY-BABSON COLLEGE